









THE  
*CALCUTTA REVIEW*

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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of prepting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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No. CXLV.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
ART. I.—INDIA IN 1880	I
„ II.—THE LIFE OF JESUS, ACCORDING TO THE MUHAM- MADANS	16
„ III.—HENRY LOUIS VIVIAN DEROZIO (PART II.)	35
„ IV.—RURAL POLICE AND DECENTRALISATION	78
„ V.—DEVELOPMENTS	87
„ VI.—KHELAT	122
„ VII.—MILITARY DEDUCTIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE LATE CAMPAIGNS IN AFGHANISTAN	136
„ VIII.—THE SIKH RELIGION UNDER BANDA, AND ITS PRESENT CONDITION	155
„ IX.—PERSECUTION ON THE WESTERN GHATS	169
„ X.—HINDUSTANI POETS AND POETRY	184
THE QUARTER	199
CRITICAL NOTICES:—	

### 1.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

- 1.—The History of India : Mohamadan Period. By  
J. Talboys Wheeler. London, Trübner & Co. 1
- 2.—Mathura : a District Memoir. By F. S. Growse,  
B.C.S., M.A. Oxon., C.I.E., Fellow of the  
Calcutta University. Second Edition. Illus-  
trated, revised, and enlarged. 1880. Printed at  
the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Govern-  
ment Press ... 7
- 3.—Asgard and the Gods. Tales and Traditions of  
our Northern Ancestors told for Boys and Girls  
adapted from the Work of Dr. W. Wagner by  
M. W. Macdowall, and edited by W. S. W.  
Anson. With numerous Illustrations. London :  
W. Swan Sonnenschein and Allen, Paternoster  
Square, 1880 ... vi
- 4.—Teutonic Mythology. By Jacob Grimm. Trans-  
lated from the 4th Edition with Notes and Ap-  
pendix by James Steven Stallybrass. Vol. 1.  
London : W. Swan Sonnenschein and Allen,  
Paternoster Square, 1880 ... viii

- 5.—The Ramayana of Tulsi Das. Translated from the original Hindi by F. S. Growse, B.C.S., M.A., Oxon. C.I.E. Fellow of the Calcutta University. Books III.—VI. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1880 ... .. viii
- 6.—A Hindustani-English Law and Commercial Dictionary. By S. W. Fallon, Ph.D. Halle. E. J. Lazarus & Co, Banaras. Trübner & Co., London, 1879 ... .. ix
- 7.—The Faith of Islam. By the Revd. Edward Sell, Fellow of the University of Madras, Trübner & Co., London. Addison & Co., Madras. 1880 ... .. ib.
- 8.—The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon. By Sir John B. Phear. London: Macmillan & Co., 1880 ... .. x

## 2.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

- 9.—Ghorār Dim. Printed by Bholā Nāth Chakrabarti at the Chikitsātattwa Press, No. 80, Muktarām Bābu's Street, Chorebagan, and published by Sarach Chandra Deb, at No. 39, Muktarām Bābu's Street, Calcutta. Aswin, 1287, B. S.... .. xi
- 10.—Phula-bāḷā (Lyric Poems). Part I. By Debendra Nāth Sen. Printed by I. C. Bose & Co., at the Stanhope Press, 249, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, and published by the Author at Gazipur. 1287 B. E. ... .. xiv
- 11.—Banga Sāhitya O Banga Bhāṣā Bisaye Baktrita. Read by Gangā Charan Sarkār at the premises of the Dacca College in the month of Āśār 1286 B. E. Printed and published by Nundalāl Basu at the Laharani Press, Chinsura, 1880... .. xv
- 12.—Kāby Sundari. By Purna Chandra Basu. Printed and published by G. C. Basu and Co., at 309, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, 1287, B. S... .. xvi
- 13.—Jeebun Bindu, a short Memoir of Soudamini, the beloved wife of Kakhāl Chandra Raya. Printed and published by Bhuvan Mohun Ghosh at the Sadharan Brahma Somaj Press, Calcutta, 1286, B. S. ... .. xvii
- 14.—Nalinic. A Monthly Journal and Review, Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Printed at the Kar Press, 166, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, and published by N. N. Bose. 1287, B. S. ... .. ib.
- 15.—Saraḷ Jwan...Chikitsa, Part I. By Dr. Jadunath Mukherji. Printed and published by Nityanand Ghosh at the Chikitsa-Prakāśh Press, 160, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta ... .. ib.



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NO. CXLV.

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ART. I.—INDIA IN 1880.

THOSE who seriously consider what a peculiar and complicated subject is presented by the British dominion in India, will cease to feel any very keen disappointment at the difficulty experienced in making that subject—or anything connected with it—interesting or attractive to the general reader. There are, no doubt, special topics which meet with due attention from specialists. The naturalist and the sportsman agree in receiving with welcome a good book on birds or on big game; the philanthrope accepts accounts of sanitation, proselytising, and zenana missions. But the survey of India's social phenomena, as a whole, and without distinction of time or place, does not seem to meet with willing students. And yet, India has got to be governed—for her own advantage and for that of the dominant power if possible—the problems thus arising, demand general wisdom as well as the judgment and energy of individuals; and the solution of these problems will become feasible, not to say easy, in proportion to the accuracy of the knowledge on which the exercise of these qualities is based.

Nor is the study of Indian political biology, as an entirety, without interest for a purely scientific curiosity, and as a branch of comparative sociology. In the first place, because the Hindus form the only surviving specimen of which we have any complete knowledge of what may be called “the Palæozoic races.” It may, indeed, be said that the Chinese Empire possesses one of those antique forms of civilisation: but the Chinese form a special and a quite distinct type; moreover, we have not the same means of knowing the Chinese. Once existing alongside with the Empires of Ecbatan and Babylon, Hindu society has survived to

our day with only one disturbing influence. That influence of course is Islām, and it has to be taken into account. But, except for what may have been wrought by Islām, the tough, imperfect organisation has come down from Præ-Christian times without any special breach of continuity. From the element-worship of the Vedic Aryans and the modified mythology of the heroic age; after Buddhism had penetrated it with a new spirit, and Puraṇic polytheism had absorbed into its constitution many local ideas and idols; faintly touched by Eastern Christianity; bowed under Tartar conquest; overwhelmed by anarchy, and now at last tending towards political unity under the *Pax Britannica*, Hinduism preserves to this day much of its ancient character. Here, and here only, we still find an ancient Aryan language scarcely removed by two stages from that archaic speech of which the tongues of modern Europe are but remote descendants; a code of civil law which preceded the jurisprudence of ancient Greece and of the Roman Empire; a scheme of life which seems to be the type of all known communal institutions. Most strange of all to our eyes, the Hindus still, after all the tides that have broken on their bulwarks, continue to present an almost impracticable obstacle to what we call "Progress;" preserving still the simplicity, the feebleness, the incoherence, and the dull sympathies, of a society in a state of prematurely arrested development.

Hence the purely scientific importance of the study begins when we find it introducing us to a social system which—though mainly of Aryan origin—has been affected neither by Greek Art, by Roman Politics, nor by Mediæval Religion. There are a multitude of alien races scattered over the wide land, Aboriginal, Dravidian, Semitic, Turanian; but all have been mixed and assimilated by the Proto-Aryan principle. Caught in a crust of convention; rejecting,—as much as possible—the influence of external commerce, the Indian populations have failed, for the most part, in the apparently simple task of conducting their own public affairs. And the system of caste, ever deepening as their state grew more forlorn, has necessarily strengthened the disorders by which they have been beset. One is reminded of the words employed by a great publicist about a less ancient and less secluded race. Treating of the effects of caste on Irish society in the time of the Plantagenets, Burke thus expresses himself;—

"This is much in the strain of the Eastern polity; but this and many other of the Irish institutions, well enough calculated to preserve good arts and useful discipline, when these came to degenerate, were equally well calculated to prevent all improvement and to perpetuate corruption, by infusing an invincible tenaciousness of ancient custom."

That tenacity in evil, as in good, has certainly followed in India. Yet the arts and discipline have not been altogether preserved. Indeed, there has been a curious combination such as is a not uncommon mark of the hereditary bondsman. Alongside of the profound stagnation has been visible a superficial flexibility which makes a second distinguishing source of interest in Indian social studies. Brahmin, Buddhist, Greek, Arab, Afghan, Mughal, Portuguese, French, English, all in turn have scratched the surface and planted transitory growths in Indian fields. The Greek intrusion was short-lived and left but little impression or record behind it. The Brahmanic development and Buddhist reaction caused more durable results till almost swallowed up in the Puranic synthesis. The effects of the Moslem conquest have been summarised by the present writer in these and other pages ; and those effects are still visible. Then came the European struggles of the last century, which have been agreeably popularised by the graphic pen of Colonel Mangleson : the warriors of those days, with swords for pruning hooks, did good work in the social jungle, and cleared some space for their successors to work in yet more.

Lastly, is to be considered the special subject of modern British dominion—rather wide than deep, so far—of which the ultimate result is still matter for conjecture. This much, at present, may at least be said : that, with defective sympathy and a too general empiricism, the British are the most honest, brave, and able of the many sets of masters whom India has yet obeyed. For their future performances one is accustomed to look in three main directions ; intellectual and spiritual movement ; political training ; and economic operations upon congested populations with a low level of life.

As to the first, people generally expect great things to be done by the British in India, though there is not much agreement as to the means. On the one hand there is a natural feeling that some form of the religious creed that has so largely contributed to the improvement of European nations must bear the like fruit here. Many excellent persons accordingly, in various ways, endeavour, by means of support to the various denominations of missionaries, to propagate their respective religious views among the natives. Not much success has crowned these benevolent efforts, nor does there seem any prospect of early increase to the amount. In the mean time there is undeniable need of civilising efforts in our English cities ; so that the old objection remains, why divert to unpromising crusading means that might be more reasonably used at home ? Then there is the secular view which hopes for moral and social progress from a better and



more diffused secular knowledge. It would perhaps be hardly conceivable, were it not so clearly a fact, that any such unreasonable expectations should be entertained. The fallacy has been laid bare, with copious proofs and illustrations, in Herbert Spencer's *Study of Sociology*. Education of that sort may create a dangerous class of conceited and hungry malcontents. It probably will have that effect, and who can foresee the catastrophe to which this product might bring the country? But secular education cannot possibly make men bear poverty better or do harder work in the fields.

The other topics hang together. India is a vast land, almost a continent; and the regions of which it consists are, in many instances, occupied by swarms of frugal, home-keeping peasantry who pursue no calling but husbandry, and know no secondary wants. These poor creatures depend, for the very moderate amount of prosperity which contents them, upon the principles by which they are ruled and the personal characters of their rulers. The natives of more advanced countries can hardly realise this. In a country of self-government such things have but little bearing on the happiness of mankind. A German or an Austrian will have nearly as much enjoyment and safety as a Frenchman, and his money will altogether go as far. But with the helpless subjects of a despotism, almost everything depends on the doings of functionaries. An incompetent administration means petty tyranny and general anarchy; which may do more harm than a seven years' war. A bad system of finance may load the members of such a community with burdens that will make them miserable to the third and fourth generation. Especially is this the case when their habits or circumstances will not permit them to emigrate. Finally, the educated natives have been promised a career and claim the fulfilment of the promise.

Here, then, is a mass of difficulty. You have to give your administration abundance of wisdom; you have to entrust its carrying out to the most capable and trustworthy employés; and you feel that, to make you rule popular here and respected elsewhere, you must give plenty of scope to honest native ambition. It is evident that India is not an easy subject and cannot be disposed of by simple treatment. It also appears that, for the Member of Parliament, for the Journalist, even for those un conspicuous private persons who make up public opinion, it would be very desirable to have a truthful, and a somewhat encyclopædic compendium, such as could be referred to for facts and consulted for sound counsels.

So far back as 1853 an attempt was made to meet this requirement by Sir George (then plain Mr.) Campbell. His book was

called *Modern India*, but soon went out of date owing to the rapid series of startling events that followed shortly after its publication. Then came Colonel Chesney's *Indian Polity*, a work which, without a single dissentient voice, was accepted as authoritative for the time at which it appeared. And now the versatile ex-Governor of Bombay, Sir Richard Temple, has come forward with a third work upon the same lines which seems to have been generally received with similar favour.

Sir Richard has many advantages for writing such a book. He has held offices of high power and trust in India for the full length of a generation, during which he has had an opportunity of seeing every part of the country and of becoming acquainted with almost every branch of the administration. With the exception of handling troops in the field, there is scarcely a task that he has not undertaken. District Officer, Settlement Officer, Secretary to Government, Secretary to the Treasury, Member of the Legislature, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chief Commissioner of Nagpur, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Governor of Bombay, he has shown that he can work on a stool, ride a horse, paint a glacier, plan a market-place, frame a Budget or lay out a line of railway. He assures us, in his preface, that his duties have taken him into "every part of the Indian empire from Thibet to Ceylon, from the Khyber pass to the frontier of Ava, from the valley of Assam to the city of Kandahar." He has been employed "under all the departments of the State:" he has "not only beheld, but made sketches of every scene which is described in these pages:" he has been "concerned in, or cognizant of, almost all the affairs which are here discussed."

These advantages, however, are not free from an attendant and perhaps necessary drawbacks. The book takes an exclusively administrative view. Now, to do his work well, our administrator must deal with phenomena as if they were realities; must think of the Present, rather than of the Past, or Future; if he is concerned with an Empire, he must consider it as a whole: which are exactly the things most likely to mislead when they are done in a book. Less even than is usual in human affairs are things what they seem; the Present is in a state of rapid flux, leaning on the Past and looking to the Future; the Empire is not really a whole, but a vast extent of country, containing almost as many nations as the Continent of Europe. An administrator's book is likely to be defective in taking account neither of different communities having different needs and manners, nor of the various antecedent events which have made each of these communities, respectively, such as it is.

Moreover, great as are the author's gifts, natural no less than

acquired ; and accurate as are most of his details ; the reader will be disappointed who looks to it for that general truthfulness which comes of profundity. That is a quality which requires for its existence the union of historical sympathy with philosophic insight ; and such a combination is not to be expected from a man who has had to spend the whole of his manhood in sacrificing his originality to the dictates of his superiors and the exigencies of the passing hour. This is said, not to detract from the merits of the book, but to explain why they are not of quite another kind. Sir R. Temple may seem sometimes to misinterpret his facts and misapply his figures ; but he states them in good faith and with perfect modesty and good temper. The book is very well put together ; it is not consciously apologetic in character or tone ; but an *Apologia* it is, and it cannot profitably be followed as anything else.

There are, indeed, large portions which can be spoken of only with cordial praise. Such are, first and especially, the general chapters, including those on the "claims of India to the continuous attention of England ;" the discouragement of European colonisation in the interior, accompanied by a candid statement of the good that is done by the commercial settlers in sea-port towns, by the Planters, and by the Anglo-Indian Press. The author is at his very best in his remarks on "Objects of beauty in Nature" and "Objects of beauty in Art." To be sure there are some mistakes in the treatment of this latter subject ; thus, the temple of Mân Sinh at Brindabun and the Palaces of his family at Amber, are cited as samples of Hindu architecture, whereas they are steeped in Moslem influence so as to belong almost wholly to the Saracenic school (pp. 33-7). Of the Taj at Agra, it is said that "to the Muhamadan alone belongs the imperishable renown of having raised this peerless structure" (p. 42.) The opinions of experts differ as to the architectural merit of the Taj ; but all are aware that it was designed by a European. Brother Manrique—who was at Agra at the time—says plainly that the plans and estimates were supplied by a Venetian named Verroneo. Blunders however can hardly be avoided when an author undertakes a work of such wide scope as that which Sir R. Temple has here produced. And he gives a really useful, as it is a most readable, summary of what has been done in regard to canals, roads, railways, electric telegraphs, products and industries, trade, and sanitation. On famines, too, and the method of their relief he may be listened to with the respect due to an expert ; provided, that is to say, that one concedes the principle that human life, however worthless, is to be prolonged at whatever cost. The chapters on physical science,

wild-sports, naval and military affairs, and foreign relations, though these great subjects have been disposed of with unavoidably rapidity, are extremely well sketched; if there is any absence of the critical faculty, it will hardly be regretted by those who run and read. The more attentive student will probably know where to go for further discussion of controverted points. On Finance, too, the author's experience makes him an excellent authority; Finance being essentially an empirical art which takes cognisance of the Empire as a whole, and as it appears for the moment, is exactly the sort of subject which allows itself to be treated administratively. Sir Richard shows that in spite of bogus-budgets, Indian Finance is in an encouraging condition. The debt of the Empire, if not small, is neither excessive nor unmanageable; new debt is not recklessly contracted, and the interest is being constantly reduced; the loss on exchange has a disturbing effect, but it is not unlikely that this evil will soon be mitigated. In facts, if not in name, this chapter is a good reply to pessimists of the school of Mr. Hyndman.

Why should not praise, then, be more general and strong? The answer is that the reader criticises because the author does not. The position is ably stated, existing facts are set out with much care and skill, but there is no sufficient mention of the difficulties, there is no attempt to reconcile objections or to solve doubts; to speak after the manner of Hegel, the *thesis* is good, the *antithesis* is defective, there is no *synthesis* at all. The real problem for the British in most parts of India is, the great misery of the agricultural labourers and petty cottiers and copyholders who form the bulk of the population. And by reason of the arrested development of the social system the administrative machinery that is being introduced from a country in quite another condition often does that helpless population more harm than good. By preventing civil war, famine and pestilential epidemics, you preserve a vast quantity of human weeds whom Nature is trying to dispose of: when you improve the value of property and of tenures, you increase indebtedness by strengthening the security on which it is incurred; while, by giving speedy and efficient justice, you favour the further operations of capital at the expense of labour; by extending commerce and inland traffic, you often take food from those who have not enough as it is. All the tonnage in Bombay, all the rise of prices and development of resources, the schools, colleges and universities that look so well on Sir Richard's pleasant pages, will not relieve the misfortunes of the millions who earn three pence a day and borrow at from twenty-four to thirty-six per cent. These are the cardinal Indian facts;

and Sir Richard's book will not be complete until he first of all takes prominent notice of them and then proceeds to suggest a true remedial method. In a few places he shows that he is not unaware of the poverty and nakedness of the land; as notably, where he shows the small yield of the now defunct income-tax. But he generally makes light of such indications, often ignores them altogether. And to ignore, or even make light of them, is not merely to disguise the truth but to misrepresent the whole matter. Take, for example, the native hand-loom. Hand-loom weaving is not unsuited to a backward community; it affords domestic employment to families and renders them, *pro tanto*, less of a burden to the land. Sir Richard feels this, being a man both intelligent and kind-hearted. Therefore he broadly says:—

“Many thoughtful men, reflecting on the extinction of some Native industries, the partial substitution of foreign for indigenous manufactures,...the increased dependence of the population upon the land, have herefrom derived anxious forebodings.”

Surely such forebodings are but natural. Is it enough to meet them by the optimistic remark, in the next sentence that—

“The greatest of all industries after agriculture, namely, the industry which provides clothing for the mass of the people, is as yet almost intact, or but slightly affected, in spite of the importation of English piece-goods?” (p. 104.)

That is a statement which, could it be proved, would certainly do much to neutralise the forebodings suggested in the previous statement; but look at some of the objections. In the first place, not a single figure is produced as a voucher for its support. In the second, it is contrary to reason to suppose that native looms can have as much work when piece-goods to the worth of sixteen millions of pounds sterling are annually imported into the market from abroad as they had when no such importation took place. Lastly, there is the fact that you can, in provinces very remote from the sea, buy six yards of English cloth for a rupee, which sum will only purchase you four yards of cloth woven in your own village. The native is the most parsimonious of men; and he will not give a rupee for four yards, when he can get cloth of the same width at the rate of six: the country cloth may be stronger and more lasting; but, apart from present outlay, durability is not necessarily an object to him; nor does his wife want to wear the same petticoat all her life any more than a woman would wish to do so in Europe. At the last census, out of fifty-seven and a half millions of adult

males in British India, there were less than nine millions living by industrial occupations: we shall see the new census soon, and it will be matter of surprise should the ratio prove to have increased.

The increase of the population generally is a matter which cannot be profitably discussed in the meantime. Not until the results of the new imperial census are made known, can it be said with positive certainty, whether or no, a general increase has taken place. In some passages the author appears to doubt whether it has: in others he is disposed to claim it as a result of successful government. Certainly, if a government aims at crowding, and crowds arise, that is success; so far as success consists in hitting the mark. But the question remains, whether the mark was a good and useful one. And a little reflection will show that this question is not always and absolutely to be answered in the affirmative. An increase that may be beneficial in a newly-cleared tract of country, or in a sea-port town where labour has been scarce and dear, will not be similarly advantageous in a non-migratory population of agriculturists. There are, in many Indian regions, large rural communities where each acre has to feed a human being, to say nothing of the cattle. Including roads, rocks, and rivers, you cannot get more than 640 acres of area out of a square mile of country; and in the regions referred to, there are often 640 persons to the square mile. The rates of population per square mile in Bengal, the North-West Provinces and Oudh are about six times that of Spain, and nearly three times that of Ireland. And the bulk of these enormous throngs—amounting in all to over one hundred millions—is directly supported by the land; being unconcerned, to a very great degree, in commerce or manufactures. Sir Richard says, and says truly, that there are large tracts of country in other parts of India where the surplus of this population might find land to till. This is true, and in the fact lies the chief hope of future salvation. But the sad fact at present is, that there is no one willing to go, excepting under severe temporary pressure. We do not hear of emigration from Belgium to Bulgaria; and the time is at least as distant, when the people of Hindustan will migrate on a large scale to the Central Provinces. Custom, to them, is more than a path, it is a strong restriction.

It was said above that the agriculturists paid as much as 36 per cent. for money borrowed. Sir Richard puts the average rate of interest at from 7 to 12 per cent. If that were true it would only furnish a fresh illustration of the fallacious nature of averages. But it is not true. In the Presidency towns and among European bankers,

the rates mentioned by him may prevail ; but they do not affect the dealings of the people at large ; and the rates given here (24 to 36 per cent.) are exceeded in some cases, even where good security is given. This is merely another instance of the terrible force of custom. A hundred years ago a money-lender had but little security ; the recovery of his money was uncertain ; his debt might be abruptly wiped out by fire or sword ; and in such circumstances a very high rate of interest formed his only compensation. The borrowers have not yet learned that their security has become perfect, and that claims will be decreed and executed with certainty and speed ; or, if they have dimly noticed this change, they have not learned to apply it to practice. The rates at which peasant proprietors borrow small sums from village bankers, are probably little lower than when the country was half jungle and the government an organised incompetence with intervals of spoliation.

In mental matters the author is a safer guide. He gives a correct and attractive account of the sects into which the local creeds are divided, and of the fermentation of the native mind in general ; though it is mixed with a certain amount of what can only be considered a *concio ad Buncomium* (Chap. VII.) The next Chapter deals with education ; and, as before hinted, shows a disposition to expect results of a moral kind that are not fairly to be anticipated. Men are not to be made moral by being made intellectual, nor will a ploughman drive a straighter furrow because he has studied Euclid. Chapter IX. is devoted to the delicate topic of missionary enterprise, as to which also a word has been already said. Here Sir Richard seems much inclined to blow hot and cold :—

“Some Englishmen in India, of long experience and much information, dispute the usefulness of Christian missions and deprecate the devotion of so many energies and resources to labours which will bear little or no fruit....It is true also that some high functionaries have felt themselves unable to believe in the utility of missions ; and their view ought to be taken into consideration by those who desire to master all the bearings of the case. On the other hand nothing can be more explicit than the testimony repeatedly given in favour of missions by some of the very first among Anglo-Indian authorities ; by such men as John Lawrence, James Thomason, Bartle Frere, Robert Montgomery, Donald Macleod, and William Muir.”

All this is true enough ; the conflict, as stated, is still pending ; but there is something almost pathetic in the endeavour to decide such a question as this by a balance of “high functionaries and authorities.” Of course British gentlemen in such positions are

guided principally by their respective prepossessions ; for the results hitherto achieved by mission work are not on a scale large enough to allow of their value being tested by the statistical methods of the "functionary" as such. But those who judge the Future by the Past have other means of forming an opinion ; and to those means Sir Richard does not make the faintest allusion. Which is a pity.

In many such respects, as it seems after all due credit has been given, the book suffers from an attempt to avoid the only two courses which would have made it really useful. A very good method would have been pursued if Sir Richard had given his great energy and research to the preparation of a sort of Blue Book ; a mere collection of facts and figures without the expression of any inferences or conclusions. Another equally possible plan would have been to write a popular scientific treatise in the manner of Montesquieu. In the former case we should have a work of reference for the Senator or the Publicist : in the latter a guide for opinion among the public at large. But the present book, creditable as it is, falls between these two stools. With a keen vision for details, the author does not seem to take in the general contour. Even as he holds it fair and wise to tax the capable and industrious for the maintenance and propagation of the idle and useless ; as he writes of education as if it were capable, by itself, of producing moral amelioration, so, throughout, he seems bent on marshalling everything so as to subserve the indolent conclusions of an unthinking majority. He treats, further, of industrial manufactures and products (Chapter XVII.), but we look in vain for information as to the notorious decay of these things, whereby alone the miserable multitudes could be diverted from exhausting the overlaboured soil ; while the remaining agriculturists, with their reduced numbers, might be in a position to make terms with their employers that would leave more than a bare minimum of subsistence. He writes, again, of agriculture ; but he does not tell us plainly whether it is conducted on right or on wrong principles : still less does he hint at the remedy if the latter be the case and its principles be wrong. In setting forth the good done by canals, he passes entirely over the evil that they have done : though the guess has been hazarded, in these pages,\* that, if the population between Rurki and Cawnpore could be polled as to the greatest of those works, the majority would be in favour of utterly destroying the famous Ganges Canal : and the agricultural community of Oudh, being asked lately in a public meeting, whether they

\* *Calcutta Review* for January 1881.



thought that their Province wanted a canal or more wells, at once pronounced in favour of wells. And he refers to the Deccan Ryots, and the special legislation lately made for their relief, without saying, in clear language, whether or no the circumstances are a sufficient justification for interference with the freedom of contract, or whether those circumstances are so special as to restrict the interference to that one region if it is desirable there. •

Referring to legislation in general, he gives us an excellent chapter (Chap. X). In this he anticipates much of what was lately published here.\* He traces the Parliamentary constitution of the Indian Government; exhibits in due force the sacred character of Hindu and Muhamadan Law; describes the Law, and manner of its administration in British India; deals a shrewd blow at the nostrums of the *Panchaiyat* and "Patriarchal Rule;" answers charges of "over legislation," and shows the advantages to be gradually caused by the introduction of scientific law. In short, he does here, what, we cannot but hope, he will do generally in his next edition, namely, a good and useful service to the instruction of the public by a really statesmanlike and philosophic treatment of his topic.

His chapter (XXI.) on "Learned Research," is not of quite equal quality, though it is valuable as containing the only summary at present available of what has been done towards permanently recording the features of Indian sociology that are of wide and lasting interest to the intellect of man. As he well puts the case:—

"The pursuit of oriental learning imparts grace and dignity to the conduct and policy of England [Britain] in the East; endears India to the Englishmen [including of course Scots, Irish and North Americans], whose lot it is to live and labour there; and engages, on behalf of India, the sympathy of cultivated minds."

He goes on to speak of the great men of the past by whose encouragement and co-operation Anglo-Indian research was first set on foot; and does justice to some early savants of other nationalities, such as Anquetil du Perron and Eugène Burnouf. Coming down to the present generation, he mentions many of the names best known among British, German, and French orientalists. We regret to miss, among the names of historical writers, that of Colonel Malleison, who is almost the only authority on the struggles of the French to get a footing in India by land and by sea: and in dealing with the care now taken of

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\* Codification, *Calcutta Review* for April 1881. Art. on Codification.

Indian antiquities, it is a pity to have left out the name of Sir John Strachey, to whose zealous and intelligent example it is almost entirely due. A fuller and more comprehensive survey of the labours of Anglo-British and modern Native scholars is still to be desired. Especial mention should be made, in future issues, of the labours of native savants like Dr. Rajendralal Mitra and the late Bhau Daji.

Such are some of the shortcomings to be corrected before a book of general interest can be made of *India in 1880*. On the other hand, in Chapter XXVIII. we find a capital specimen of what the author might have done if he had confined himself to the less ambitious task of giving a dry Encyclopædia of facts, without any expression of opinion. In this chapter the reader will find a summary, not to be met with elsewhere, of such statistics as are forthcoming about the country in general. It embraces the area of India, the several religions, castes, and occupations of its inhabitants, the statistics of cultivation, of irrigation works and embankments, an account of the various tenures on which land is held, figures about the police, crime, prisons, civil justice, hospitals and dispensaries, public education, literature, post-office and telegraphs, emigration, railways, roads, maritime trade and harbours, shipping, frontier-trade, the growth of the tea and coffee plantations, manufactures of cotton and jute, exports of grain, coal, the forests of the State and their administration, the military forces of the country, finance, coinage, and paper-currency, and many kindred sub-topics.

The concluding chapter seems inferior in merit to its predecessor. Here the author comes to the late Afghan war, its lessons and results; and that is too great a subject to be knocked off in the small space that remained at the author's command. He pronounces the Empire prosperous, in spite of admitted drawbacks; but he does not go deep enough for the real drawbacks; and hence his favourable diagnosis cannot win unhesitating acquiescence. He offers a fairly satisfactory answer to those who ask, why Britain should retain her empire over India: though he takes no notice of some of the real features of that at present somewhat quiescent inquiry. In this he displays judgment; a time may undoubtedly come when a sense of intolerable burdens will suggest to the public at home the alternative of retiring from Delhi, as they have from Peking and from Cabul, and confining their attention to the maintenance of treaty-ports, as is done in China. But that time has not yet drawn nigh; and surely "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." Sir Richard indulges in the standard sentiments about the worth and beauty of the Oriental character; but, as he has elsewhere given us to

understand that his clients are habitually given to calumny and forgery (v. p.p. 47. 188), he has himself done enough towards supplying his reader with an antidote. As for the "happy prospect before them," it may be compared to the yellow light over the last scene of a burlesque. Something of the sort is no doubt expected by a public which (as we have been told by a good authority) "demands Palm trees." Sir Richard may here be regarded as the theatrical father, saying:—"Bless you, my children!"

The only remaining question is whether we can—as is earnestly to be hoped—expect sufficient favour to be shown to Sir R. Temple's book to allow of his bringing it nearer towards perfection in a future issue. If he has sufficient time on his hands to enable him to study the suggestions of critics—and he has never yet shown undue sensitiveness or obduracy in this respect—he has the literary skill necessary to make his teaching highly popular. The public taste is undoubtedly fastidious as to India: in social and historical aspects this vast and mysterious land is far from popular. In the present day it makes our Queen an "Empress;" it supports many thousands of our educated countrymen, and still it continues almost as unattractive as in the days of Southey. That highly intelligent scholar, in the very depth of his early struggles, declined an appointment to the Indian Civil Service because—so he said—Anglo-Indians were bad animals, and a thinking man must be in solitude among them. A time came when Southey had to be indebted to India for the subject of one of his Epics. But he found his friends firm in similar prejudices. Thus, Lamb flatly refused to read the *Curse of Kehama*. "I can just endure Moors," he said, "because of their connection, as foes, with Christians: but Abyssinians, Ethiops, Esquimaux, Dervishes, and all that tribe, I hate. I believe I fear them in some manner. A Mahomedan turban on the stage, though enveloping some well-known face,... does not give me unalloyed pleasure. I am a Christian, Englishman, Londoner." There is truth in this pleasant exaggeration. The feeling lurking under it was, and still is, present in the home-keeping mind: and writers on Indian subjects must reckon with it as one of the conditions of their case. If you can persuade people that your subject is not so very special; if you can get them, for example, to see that general human questions underlie the apparent mystery, then you may secure an audience, fit and not necessarily few. And this is what Sir R. Temple has very skilfully set himself to do. The rest must be the part of the public. In Lamb's abhorrent attitude there is something of moral obliquity which cultured natures should resolve to correct. It resembles too much the reluctance with which the worldling regards

an invitation to muse upon a future state and the promised beatitudes of the Saints' rest. Lamb plainly admits this. "God help me," says he, "when I have to put off these snug relations and get abroad into the world to come."

Yet it is not so bad as this. Take but a plunge, and Fleet Street disappears :—

Bright columns of vapour through Lothbury glide,  
And a river rolls on through the vale of Cheapside.

The "world to come" is as far off as ever. Men are around us, not angels. Instead of the hymns of the ransomed and the harpings of the heavenly choir, we hear the peasant singing at his well, the scrannel pipe of the gypsy snake-charmer. The society differs indeed from that of Europe : but that difference is no more than enough to create a healthy curiosity. Herein should lie a peculiar charm ; family ties and tribal interests are here, as in the dawn of man's intercourse with man. We find a simple dependence on the wind and the rain ; a deep seated sense of man's weakness, inspiring a contented pessimism born of perennial disappointment. Childhood is without impulse, youth without ambition, age without hope ; but then maturity is without sharp care or very wearing labour ; human nature is still present, though, to the European apprehension, curiously benumbed.

A set of chapters which should exhibit this condition of affairs with some explanation of its origin, and perhaps with a faint attempt to construct its horoscope, ought not to fail of readers. "The brooding East with awe beheld her impious younger world ;" and the West, in turn, might pause in its bustling march, to take note of a contrast and collision that are not merely theoretical. From the time when the old Bactrians first invaded the Punjab, whether from Greek, from Tartar, or from modern European, this decrepid civilisation has borne many a shock, and shared its unweeded gardens with many a pushing visitor. It is true that these intrusions have not moved India greatly. "She let the legions thunder past, then turned to sleep again." But the result is a vast diorama, whose display would be found to yield a romantic series of dissolving views : lighted by the fires of siege and battle, and painted in distemper, moistened with the blood and tears of a great multitude of unknown victims.

H. G. KEENE.

## ART. II.—THE LIFE OF JESUS.

### *According to the Qorán and Moslem Tradition.*

**I**F a European author were to attempt to write a life of Muhammad, of Buddha, or of the founder of any other religion, merely from the information which might be at his disposal from his own religious books and traditions, and if he were utterly to disregard the original sources, such as the scriptures or other accounts of the adherents themselves of the said founder, his work would in our times, by general consent, be pronounced of little or no value. With Muhammadans the case is different. They can use none but their own accredited and sacred authorities as sources in giving an account of the founder of Christianity. They must disregard all others, or they would cease to be Moslems *i.e.*, True Believers. They can trust neither Jews nor Christians, because the Qorán expressly says (V. 56):—"O true believers, take not the Jews or Christians for friends," and accuses them of hiding the truth:—"O ye who have received the scriptures, why do you clothe the truth with vanity, and knowingly conceal the truth?" (III. 64). We might quote several other passages from the Qorán, as well as from traditions, to show that neither Jewish nor Christian sources are of any authority with Muhammadans, and that for this reason they have not been used by Moslem writers, who have all based their accounts of the Founder of our religion upon their own sources, which alone they deem infallible, namely, the Qorán and authentic traditions.

According to these sources, Mary had a cousin, whose name was Joseph the Carpenter, and both were attendants in the

The Conception of the Virgin Mary. temple, which they left only when their water-jugs became empty, to fill them at a spring that issued from a

grotto. On the day when Gabriel was to appear to Mary, she invited Joseph to come with her to the spring, but he replied that he had still water enough left in his cistern. Accordingly she went alone to the cave, and, when she entered it, she beheld Gabriel, the angel, in the form of a man, who said:—"O Mary, God has sent me to give thee a holy son." She replied:—"I fly for refuge unto the merciful God to defend me from thee. If thou fearest Him, thou wilt not approach me." After he had calmed her fears and won her confidence, she asked:—"Lord, how shall I have a son, since a man hath not touched me?" (III. 42). The angel replied:—"So God createth that which He pleaseth; when He decreeth a thing, He only saith unto

it, Be, and it is" (*ibid*). Then Gabriel breathed upon her and she conceived, whereon he departed. Mary filled her vessel and returned to the temple, but after a short time her condition astonished Joseph, who began to entertain suspicions regarding her, but said nothing until Mary, perceiving that something weighed on his mind, requested him to explain the cause. Thereupon he said :—"O Mary, tell me, whether plants are ever produced without seed?" On her replying in the affirmative, he again asked her :—"Do trees ever grow without being irrigated by rain?" To this question, too, Mary gave the same answer, whereon Joseph said :—"Can an infant be born without being begotten by a man?" Mary replied :—"Do you not know that God, whose name be praised and exalted, caused plants to grow, on the day he created them, without any seed, which is now but the produce of plants that had grown without any? Do you not know that God caused trees to grow without rain, but made it their vital promoter after having created them? Do you maintain that God cannot cause trees to grow except by the aid of water?" Joseph answered :—"I do not say that, and I believe that God created all things by the mere *fiat* of his word." Again Mary said :—"Are you not aware that God created Adam and his wife without the intervention of any male or female?" and Joseph admitted the truth of this. In short, Joseph was persuaded that God had effected the change which had manifested itself in Mary, and that he ought not to question her on the subject, seeing that she desired it to be kept secret.

When the time of Mary's delivery approached, she was divinely inspired to remove from the temple.

#### Birth of Jesus.

Accordingly she took shelter in the house of her aunt, the mother of John, and wife of Zacharias, who said, when she entered it :—"O Mary, do you know that I am with child?" and Mary replied :—"And you are also aware that I am with child." Then the mother of John said :—"I feel that what is in my womb, worships what is in yours."

Now God revealed to Mary that, if she gave birth to the infant among her people, they would revile her, expel her, and slay her together with her child, wherefore she must flee. Joseph, too, had heard it rumoured that Mary, being pregnant with an illegitimate infant, was to be killed; he therefore placed her upon his ass and fled with her in the direction of Egypt. She was, however, soon overtaken by the pains of parturition, and Joseph placed her against the trunk of a withered date-tree, in a place called Bethlehem, where she was surrounded and watched by invisible angels.

Being greatly distressed by her apparently helpless condi-

tion, she exclaimed :—" Would to God I had died before this, and had become a thing forgotten, and lost in oblivion" (XIX, 23). She was, however, comforted on hearing the words :—" Be not grieved ; now hath God provided a rivulet under thee ; and do thou shake the trunk of the palm-tree, and it shall let fall ripe dates upon thee, ready gathered. And eat, and drink, and calm thy mind." Thus by a miracle she obtained water, and the withered tree was made to yield fruit. As it was winter, Joseph gathered wood, of some of which he made a shelter for her, while of some he built a fire to protect her from the cold. He also had seven nuts in his provision bag, which he broke and gave Mary to eat ; and for this reason Christians kindle bonfires and eat nuts on Christmas eve.

When Jesus was born, all the idols on earth fell down head foremost. The demons trembled and knew not the reason of their terror ; they hastened to Eblys—the devil, whom they found sitting in the abyss of the sea, on his throne. The assembled multitude startled him and he enquired the cause. They informed him that a catastrophe had happened on earth owing to which all the idols had fallen upon their heads, and in consequence of the disgrace men now scorned them, and would therefore cease to worship them. They also stated that they had not ventured to make their appearance in the presence of Eblys without first roaming over every land and sea to ascertain the cause of this disgrace ; but their ignorance was only augmented, instead of being removed. Thereupon Eblys bade the demons remain, and absented himself from them for three hours, during which he flew to the spot where Jesus was born and returned to them again. When Eblys perceived that the spot was surrounded by angels, he would have swooped down upon Jesus from above, but their shoulders and heads touched the sky ! Then he sought to approach him from beneath, but the feet of the angels intervened ; and when he attempted to penetrate among the angels, they drove him off. This is confirmatory of the saying of the prophet Muhammad, that Satan touches the side of every infant with his finger at its birth, but could not do so to Jesus. When Eblys rejoined his companions, he said :—" I have not returned to you without first traversing the whole earth, east and west, land and water, the two horizons, and the uppermost regions, all in three hours." Then he informed them of the birth of Jesus, and said :—" No conception took place (hitherto), but I knew of it, and no delivery, but I was present at it. This infant will become a prophet, and I trust that more men will be misguided than guided by him. No prophet was ever more inimical to me and to you than this one will be."

Some people, having learnt from a passage in the Book of Daniel, that, on the appearance of a certain star, Jesus would be born, went in search of him, as soon as they had seen it, and took myrrh, gold, and frankincense as presents. One of the princes of Syria, meeting them on the journey, asked them why they had brought these three substances, and they replied :—“Gold is the prince of every kind of merchandise, and this prophet is the lord of his period. Myrrh is applied to fractures and to wounds, and in the same manner this prophet will, with the aid of God, cure every kind of disease. The smoke of frankincense enters heaven and no other ; in the same way God will lift this prophet up to heaven and no other in his time.” When the prince had heard these words, he conceived the idea of killing Jesus, but said to these men :—“Depart, and when you have found his abode, inform me thereof, because I intend to act like yourselves.” They went away, found Mary, and delivered their presents to her, but when they wished to return to the prince just mentioned, an angel met them, who said :—“Neither return to him, nor inform him about the locality, because he desires to kill the infant.” Accordingly they travelled to their home by another route.

Joseph kept Mary with her infant in a cave during forty days, after which she recovered her strength and returned to her family. Mary returns to her family after giving birth to Jesus, and flies thence to Egypt.

On the journey Jesus informed her that he was a prophet of God and his Messiah. When she arrived among her relatives, they said :—“Oh Mary, now hast thou done a strange thing ; O sister of Aaron, thy father was not a bad man, neither was thy mother a harlot.” (XIX. 29). Distressed at this insinuation, Mary beckoned to the infant to answer them, and he said :—“Verily, I am the servant of God ; he hath given me the book [ of the gospel ] and hath appointed me a prophet, and hath made me blessed, wheresoever I shall be” &c. (XIX, 31-32). This happened in the forty-second year of the Emperor Augustus, fifty-one years having elapsed of the dynasty of the Ashikauians [ in Persia ] ; Syria being subject to the Roman Emperor, who had appointed Herod king over it and of the children of Israel.

When Herod, the king of the Jews, learnt that the Messiah had been born, he wished to kill him, but God sent an angel to Joseph the carpenter, who apprised him of this intention, and ordered him to flee with Mary and the infant to Egypt, and not to return to Syria until Herod was dead. Accordingly, Joseph placed Mary and Jesus upon his donkey and conveyed them to Egypt, which is meant by “the elevated part of the earth” in the verse :—“And we appointed the son of Mary, and his mother, for a sign, and



prepared an abode for them in an elevated part of the earth" (XXIII. 52). Some commentators, however, believe it to apply to Jerusalem, Damascus, or Ramlah.

Mary remained twelve years in Egypt, spinning flax, and glean- ing corn in the wake of the harvesters.

The first miracle performed by Jesus happened in this way:— Jesus and his mother had been lodged by Joseph the carpenter,

who had taken them to Egypt, in the house of a country gentleman who gave

refuge also to destitute persons, and some of whose property had been stolen by them. They were, how- ever, not suspected by him. Mary felt sympathy for the landlord, and Jesus, perceiving it, told her that he would recover the property. On her consenting to his doing so, he requested their host to assemble the destitute persons in the house. This having been done, Jesus pointed out two men among them, one of whom was a cripple, and the other blind, the latter of whom he ordered to take the former upon his shoulders. The blind man excused him- self, saying that he was too weak for such a feat of strength, whereon Jesus asked him, how he had been able to perform it on the past evening? When the people heard this, they compelled the blind man to take the cripple on his shoulders and to bear him to the treasure chest to which he directed him. Then Jesus said to the country gentleman:—"In this manner they robbed you last night of your property." Now both the thieves ac- knowledged their guilt, and restored the property, one-half of which the host offered to Mary, but she refused to accept it; and then to Jesus, but she said that, as his position was higher than her own, he would still less consent to accept it.

After a while the country gentleman held in his house the wed- ding of his son, to which he invited all the inhabitants of Egypt and feasted them two months. When the marriage festivities were drawing to a close, certain guests from Syria arrived all of a sudden, and the country gentleman happened to have no wine in his house on that day. Jesus, becoming aware of the embarrassment of his host, entered an apartment containing two lines of water-jugs, and placing his hands one after another upon their mouths, changed their contents into wine.

Jesus, when a school-boy, was in the habit of telling his com- panions what their parents were eating, so that the children ran home to their families and cried till they obtained some of the food. On being questioned who had given them the information, the children mentioned Jesus; they were accordingly kept away from him, told not to play with that sorcerer, and shut up in a house. When Jesus came to look for his companions, he was told

they were not present ; and on his asking who was in the house, the people said " pigs. " He replied :—" So shall it be ; " and lo, when the door was opened there were pigs in the house. Hercon the Jews bore him ill-will, and his mother, fearing for his life, placed him on her donkey and fled to another part of the country.

As Mary was travelling with her son, they alighted in a village at the house of a Jew, who treated them hospitably and lodged them. The king of that country happened to be a cruel tyrant, and when Mary one day observed that her host had arrived in great distress, she asked his wife the reason, telling her at the same time that she might perhaps be able to comfort her. The landlady replied :—" We have a king who, together with his retinue, must be provided with food and drink by the people, and those who refuse to do so are punished. This day is our turn, but we have no means." Mary replied :—" Tell your husband not to be dismayed about anything ; he has treated us with much kindness ; and I shall induce my son to provide all that is necessary." When Mary had narrated the case to Jesus and told him to provide the food and drink, he said :—" If I do so, evil will ensue ; " she replied :—" We must not mind that, the man has treated us kindly and honoured us." Jesus continued :—" Then tell him to fill his pots and kettles with water when the time approaches, and inform me of it." This having been done, Jesus prayed, whereon the contents of the pots were changed into wine, and those of the kettles into meat ; a thing which men had never seen before. When the king arrived and had drunk, he asked whence the wine came ; and, a certain country being mentioned, he rejoined that his own wine likewise came from it, but had a different taste ; and, another province being named, he again expressed his doubts, and asked his host to tell him the truth, whereon the latter said :—" There is a boy with me to whom God grants whatever he asks ; and by his prayers water was transmuted to wine." This king had a son who was to have become his successor, and whom he loved greatly, but who had died a few days before. Now the king said within himself, that if God had allowed Jesus to change water into wine, he might by the prayers of Jesus also bring his son to life again. When the king asked Jesus to resuscitate the youth, he replied :—" Do not ask me ; for evil must ensue." The king said :—" I do not mind that so long as I see him alive." Then Jesus asked whether he would be allowed to depart with his mother as soon as he had restored the young prince to life, and, obtaining an affirmative reply, he prayed to God, whereon the youth immediately revived. After this event, the people at once took up arms and said :—" This man has tyrannised over us, and when he dies he will be succeeded by his son, who will do as his father had

done." Then the people fought, but Jesus departed with his mother.

Once, when Jesus was playing with other children, a boy happened to kick another with his foot so that he died, and bespattered Jesus with his blood. The people supposed Jesus to have committed the murder and took him to the Kadi; but he said that he knew neither the boy nor his murderer, and desired to see the corpse. Accordingly Jesus was conveyed to the spot where the dead body had been placed, and began to pray, whereon God resuscitated it. Now Jesus asked the boy who slew him; and he mentioned the name of his murderer. Then the people asked, "Who is this?" and he said:—"This is Jesus the son of Mary;"—"And who is this man with him?"—"He is the Kadi." Then the boy again expired, and Jesus departed, but was followed by a great multitude, which frightened his mother, so that she said:—"O my son, have I not warned you of this?" but he replied:—"God is our preserver, and He is the most merciful of the merciful."

After Mary had taken Jesus from school, she entrusted him to various tradesmen, the last of whom was a dyer, who was to teach him his art. This man had clothes from various persons in his house, and on a certain occasion, when he had to go on a journey, he said to Jesus:—"You have now learnt our trade, and I am about to undertake a journey, from which I shall not return before the expiration of ten days. Here are clothes which I expect you will dye, according to the different colours required, by the time I return." After that the master departed, but Jesus prepared only one vat with one colour, into which he threw all the clothes, saying:—"Be ye, by the permission of God the Most High, as I want you to be." When the master-dyer returned and learnt that the clothes were all in one vat; he exclaimed:—"Jesus, what have you done?" "I have dyed the clothes." "Where are they?" "In the vat." "All of them?" "Yes." "Being in one vat they must all be spoiled." "Come and see." Accordingly the dyer approached the vat, and Jesus drew forth from it a yellow garment, a green one, a red one, &c., all according to the colours that were required. Then the dyer was astonished, and, knowing that this happened with the power of God, said to the people:—"Come and see what Jesus has done;" whereon he with his companions believed in Jesus and they were the apostles.

When Jesus was twelve years old, king Herod died, and God ordered Mary to return, with Jesus and

Joseph the carpenter, to Syria. They obeyed and took up their abode in

Return of Jesus to Syria and beginning of his mission as a prophet.

the village of Náseret, from which afterwards the Christians were called Nesára [Nazarenes]. The intelligence of Jesus was so great that he acquired in one hour the knowledge which ordinary men took a month to obtain, and he learnt in one month what others attained in one year.

When Jesus was thirty years old, his mission as a prophet began. The Most High ordered him first of all to proclaim the unity of God and the advent of the prophet Muhammad. "And when Jesus, the son of Mary, said, O children of Israel, verily, I am an apostle of God unto you, verifying the Pentateuch which was delivered before me, and bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, and whose name will be Ahmed [one of the names of Muhammad]" (LXI. 6).

God commanded Jesus to go forth, to preach to men, to narrate parables, to heal the sick, the paralytic, the blind, the lunatic, and to exorcise demons. He did so, gathered many followers and was beloved; persons afflicted with diseases visited him in such numbers that sometimes fifty thousand of them were assembled around him, and those who could not walk were visited by him. He cured them by a prayer, and on condition that they would believe. The prayer by which he healed the sick and resuscitated the dead was as follows:—"O God, thou art the God of those who are in heaven and of those who are on earth; there is no other God in them besides Thee. Thou art mighty over all in heaven and over all on earth; there is no mighty one in them except Thee. Thou art the Sovereign of those who are in heaven and of those who are on earth; there is no Sovereign in them except Thee. Thou art the absolute Judge over those who are in heaven and over those who are on earth; there is no absolute judge in them except Thee. Thy omnipotence is on earth, as Thy omnipotence is in heaven, and Thy government prevails over the earth, as Thy government prevails in heaven. I adjure Thee by Thy honoured names, for Thou art all-powerful."

When Jesus perceived the unbelief of the Jews, he said:—"Who will be my helpers towards God? The apostles answered,

The apostles of Jesus. we will be the helpers of God, we believe in God, and so thou bear witness that we are true believers [مسلمون Musalmún]." (III. 42.). The apostles were the intimate friends, followers and assistants of Jesus. They were twelve in number, and their names are, Simon called Peter, Andrew his brother, Jacob the son of Zebedee, John his brother, Phillip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew the publican, Jacob, the son of Hálá, Lebba, who is called Thaddæus, Simon the Canaanite and

Judas Iscariot. Learned men, however, differ about them and about their vocation. Ebn A'bbus asserts that they were fishermen. Jesus passed near them and asked :—"What are you doing?" They replied :—"We catch fish." "Will you come with me that we may catch men?" "How will that be?" "We shall pray and win them for the cause of God?" "Who art thou?" "I am Jesus, the son of Mary, the servant and the apostle of God." "Will any prophet be above thee?" "Yes, the Arab prophet\*." They accordingly believed in him and followed him. According to others, the apostles were sailors, whilst some assert that the apostles [Howaryún] were fullers by trade because they bleached [Yahúrún يأهرون] clothes.

According to Fanjuyah, who quotes Musa'b, the apostles were twelve in number and followed Jesus. Whenever they required food, they said :—"O Spirit of God, we are hungry;" whereon Jesus would stamp with his foot against the earth and two loaves issued therefrom for every man, which they consumed. When they wished to drink, they said :—"Oh Spirit of God, we are thirsty," and he struck the earth, from which a spring then gushed forth and they quenched their thirst. They said :—"Oh Spirit of God, who is more excellent than ourselves? When we desire it Thou givest us food, and when we desire it Thou givest us drink. We believe in Thee and we follow Thee." He replied :—"The most excellent among you is he who works with his hands, and eats what he has gained by his labour." Accordingly they prepared clothes for hire.

Ebn A'wn narrates that a king gave a banquet to which he invited many persons; on that occasion a dish which was before Jesus always remained unexhausted; whereon the king asked :—"Who art thou?" "I am Jesus, the son of Mary." "Then I shall abandon my kingdom and follow thee." Accordingly, he accompanied Jesus with those who adhered to him, namely, the apostles. Zoháq states that the apostles were called Howaryún on account of the purity of their hearts, whilst A'bdullah B. Al-mubárak asserts that they bore this name because they were illuminati upon whom the light and the effects of devotion were visible as well as its whiteness, which is the meaning of the word Húr.

\* This prophet is of course no other than Muhammad, and is believed to be meant in the Song of Solomon, V. 16, by מחמד *Mukhammad*; in King James's Bible it is rendered by "lovely," in Luther's by "lieblich," in the Vulgate by "Desiderabilis," which is also nearly the meaning

given both in the Roman Catholic and the Protestant and Arabic Bible namely, مشتويات and شهوة. In fact, no person, able to understand the context in Hebrew, would consider this to be the proper name *Muhammad* and merely transliterate it.

That Jesus worked miracles and was strengthened by the Holy Spirit, is plainly mentioned in the Qurán :—"We formerly delivered

The miracles of Jesus.

the book of the law unto Moses, and caused apostles to succeed him, and gave evident miracles to Jesus, the son of Mary, and strengthened him with the Holy Spirit" (II. 81; see also V. 109), and again God says to him :—"I taught thee the scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the gospel; and when thou didst create of clay as it were the figure of a bird, by my permission, and didst breathe thereon, and it became a bird, by my permission," &c. (V. 110). The bird here alluded to was a bat, as it is supposed to be the most perfect of all. It flew about as long as the people were looking at it, but when it was out of their sight, it fell down dead, to bear witness to the difference between the works of men and the works of God, that His perfection may be known.

Again it is said :—"Thou didst heal one blind from his birth, and the leper by my permission; and when thou didst bring forth the dead from their graves by my permission" (*ibidem*). Lazarus, a friend of Jesus, had died, and the sister of the man was sent with the information a distance of a three days' journey, whereon Jesus accompanied her with his companions. When he had arrived at the tomb which was in a rock, he said :—"O God, Lord of the seven heavens and of the seven earths, Thou hast sent me to the children of Israel to invite them to accept thy religion. I have informed them that I could resuscitate the dead by Thy permission; bring therefore Lazarus to life again." Thereon Lazarus rose from the tomb, came out, and lived, and begat children.

When Jesus was travelling about the country with his disciples, they happened to arrive near a certain town, when he said :—"In this town there is a Treasure, who will go in and bring it out to us?" They replied :—"O Spirit of God, no stranger can enter this city, but the people kill him." Jesus said :—"Remain where you are till I again return to you." Then he departed and, entering the city, halted at the door of a house and said :—"Peace be unto you, O denizens of the house! A stranger has arrived; feed him!" Hereon a hag, replied :—"Would not you like to be taken to the king and to repeat the same demand?" Meanwhile, the son of the hag made his appearance, to whom Jesus said :—"Make me your guest this night," but the young man repeated the same answer his mother had given. Then Jesus said :—"If you take me to the king, I shall cause you to marry his daughter." The young man rejoined :—"You must be either a madman, or Jesus the son of Mary." He replied :—"I am Jesus" and spent the night in the house. When it was morning, Jesus said to the

youth :—"Go to the king and say :—'I have come to sue for the hand of your daughter,' whereon he will order you to be beaten and driven away." This actually took place ; and when the youth returned to Jesus, he told him to present himself again before the king with the same demand. After the youth had again been driven away, Jesus told him to repeat his attempt, and the king would propose to him a certain condition to which he must agree. Accordingly, the youth went the third time to the king, who said that he would give him his daughter in marriage, if he could produce a castle of gold and silver, furnished with those precious metals and costly gems. The youth having agreed to this condition, the king despatched men with him and actually took possession of all these things, whereon the king was ready to give him his daughter. The youth was amazed and said :—"O spirit of God, how is it that you who can accomplish such things are in this state?" and Jesus replied :—"I have preferred what is imperishable to what is perishable." Then the youth said :—"I shall do so likewise." He renounced the world and followed Jesus who took him by the hand, presented him to his disciples and said :—"This is the treasure which I mentioned."

When Jesus was describing the ark of Noah to his disciples, they said :—"If you were to resuscitate a man who had seen the ship he could bear witness." Accordingly, he took them to a hill, snatched up a handful of earth and said :—"This is the grave of Shem, the son of Noah, and, striking it with his staff, he uttered the ineffable name of God, and said :—"Arise, by the permission of God!" Thereon Shem rose and asked whether the last judgment had arrived ; Jesus replied in the negative and asked him to give an account of the ark, which he did. Then Jesus said :—"Die ;" but he made a condition that he should be spared the agonies of death ; which being agreed to, he expired.

In one of his journeys, Jesus had with him a disciple of very short stature, who was very much attached to him. When they had arrived on the shores of a lake, Jesus said :—"In the name of God, by truth and certainty," and walked upon the surface of the water. The short man, seeing this, imagined he could do the same, but would have been drowned, if Jesus had not rescued him. Then Jesus told him that he assumed a state in which God had not placed him, and exhorted him to repent of his presumption, which he did. The Ením Abu Mansúr Alkhumshády narrates after Mo'ád B. Jabal that Muhammad the prophet said :—"If you knew God with true knowledge, you would acquire a science after which there is no ignorance, and which no one has ever attained." They asked :—"Neither you, O apostle

of God?" He said:—"Neither I." They said:—"We are informed that Jesus the son of Mary walked upon water." He said:—"Yes! Had his awe and his certainty been larger, he would have walked upon the air!" They said:—"O apostle of God, we did not think that prophet were defective in any thing." He rejoined:—"God is more perfect than that any one could reach his perfection."

Once Jesus was on a journey, accompanied by a Jew who had two loaves of bread, and Jesus but one. Jesus said:—"Will you

be my partner in our food?" The Jew agreed, but when he perceived that Jesus had only one loaf, he repented. When Jesus was at prayers, his companion ate one loaf; when he had terminated his prayers, both produced their food, and when Jesus asked for the other loaf, the Jew replied that there had been none; accordingly Jesus consumed one loaf and the Jew one. Then they continued their journey, and when they had reached a tree, Jesus said to his companion:—"If we were to spend the night here?" Accordingly they slept under the tree, and in the morning, a short time after they had left it, they met a blind man, and Jesus said to him:—"If I were to restore thy sight, wouldst thou give thanks to God?" He replied:—"Yes." Then Jesus prayed to God, passed his hands over the man's eyes, and he recovered his sight. Then Jesus said to the Jew:—"I adjure thee by Him who caused thee to behold the blind man with his sight restored, how many loaves hadst thou?" The Jew replied:—"By Allah! I had only one loaf?"

Jesus said nothing, and they continued their journey till they met a cripple who could not walk, and Jesus said to him:—"If I were to cure thee, wouldst thou thank God?" He said:—"Yes." Accordingly, Jesus prayed, and lo, the man stood up on his feet healed! The companion of Jesus said:—"I have never seen anything like this." Then Jesus said:—"I adjure thee by Him who has caused thee to witness a blind man recover his sight, and a cripple the use of his legs, to tell me who was the owner of the third loaf?" The Jew again swore that he had possessed only one loaf. Jesus again replied nothing, and after a while they reached a stream of water; then he said:—"I see neither bridge nor boat; take hold, therefore, of my skirts, follow me and place your feet where I have stepped." The Jew obeyed, and, when they had safely crossed the river, Jesus said:—"I adjure thee by Him who showed thee a blind man seeing, a cripple walking, and made the water carry thee; who is the owner of the third loaf?" The Jew replied:—"By Allah, there was but one loaf." Jesus remained silent, and they continued their journey till they saw a



grazing antelope. Jesus prayed, caught the antelope, slaughtered it, and roasted a part of it, of which both ate. Then Jesus touched the remnant of the antelope with his staff, saying :—" Arise, by the permission of God, the most high," and lo, the antelope was again whole and alive. The man said :—" Praise be to God !" Then Jesus said to him :—" I adjure thee by Him who has caused thee to witness this miracle, to tell me who is the owner of the other loaf ? " But he replied—" There was only one loaf."

After some time they reached a herd of cattle, and Jesus, approaching the owner, induced him to part with a calf, for which he would send the Jew. After the calf had been brought by the Jew, it was duly slaughtered, roasted, and consumed, without however injuring its bones. Then Jesus replaced the bones in the hide of the calf, and, touching it with his staff, said :—" Arise, by the permission of God !" and so, the calf was whole. Now Jesus said to the herdsman :—" Take thy calf." He asked :—" Who art thou ? " " I am Jesus, the son of Mary." He said :—" Jesus, the sorcerer ? " and fled. Jesus asked his companion :—" I adjure thee by him who has resuscitated the calf, how many loaves hadst thou ? " He replied :—" I had but one loaf."

They continued their journey and arrived in a town which Jesus entered by the lower and the Jew at the upper portion. He had at the same time taken possession of the staff of Jesus and said :—" Now I shall cure the sick and resuscitate the dead." The king of that town happened to be dangerously ill, and the Jew, whilst walking in the street and shouting :—" Who wants a physician," being apprised of the fact, offered himself to cure him. The people, however, stated that the physicians had despaired of being able to cure the king, and there was not one of those who treated him but he had ordered him to be crucified. The Jew nevertheless insisted on being admitted, and, on entering, he struck the king, so that he expired. He however continued to strike the corpse, and to shout :—" Arise, by the permission of God," but it would not move. Accordingly, he was taken out to be crucified ; and Jesus, being informed of the fact, made his appearance at the place of execution and said :—" Will you liberate my companion if I resuscitate your king ? " They agreed. Accordingly he brought the king to life again, whereon the Jew, being taken down from the cross, said :—" O Jesus, you have conferred the greatest obligation upon me, and I shall never leave you." Then Jesus said :—" I adjure thee by God who revived the antelope and the calf after we had eaten them, who brought to life this king after he had died, and who caused thee to be taken down from the cross ; to tell me how many loaves thou hadst ? " The Jew repeated all these instances and said :—" By Allah, I had only one loaf !"

After that they continued their journey, and when they had arrived near some ruins, Jesus pointed out three large ingots of gold which some wild beasts had burrowed up. The Jew said:—"This property belongs to you;" but Jesus replied:—"No; one ingot shall belong to me, one to you, and the remaining one to the owner of the third loaf." The man immediately said:—"I am the owner of the third loaf; I ate it when you were at your prayers." Now Jesus said:—"You may take all the three ingots," and left him.

The Jew eagerly desired to take possession of the three ingots of gold, but when he tried to do so, he could not lift up one of them from the ground, they were so heavy. Accordingly, he went after Jesus, who, however, instead of aiding him, said:—"Then let the ingots alone, there is perdition in them." A struggle arose in the mind of the Jew, who was on the one hand very anxious to get possession of the treasure, and on the other, afraid to disobey the injunction of Jesus to let it alone; after, however, considering for a while, he followed him.

Shortly afterwards three travellers passed in that direction and also discovered the treasure. Two of them said to the third:—"Go to the next village, bring food and drink, as well as a beast of burden upon which we may load this treasure." One of the two men who had remained, now said to the other:—"Do you agree that we kill him when he returns, and divide the treasure among us?" He replied:—"Yes." The man who had gone away in his turn said to himself:—"I shall put some poison into the food; when they eat it they will die, and the whole property will belong to me." This he did, and when he had returned to them, they slew him. Then they ate the food he had brought, and died. Shortly afterwards Jesus appeared on the spot and exclaimed:—"There is no God but Allah! It is thus that the world deals with its votaries!" Then he resuscitated them by the permission of God; and they repented, and departed without taking any of the treasure. The Jew, however, who had accompanied Jesus, still coveted the property and said:—"Give me the ingots." Jesus said:—"Take them, they will be your portion in this world and in the next." Thereon he attempted to take the gold, but the earth opened and swallowed him; and Jesus departed.

"The apostles said, O Jesus, son of Mary, is thy Lord able to cause a table to descend unto us from heaven? He answered,

Descend of the table from heaven. Fear God, if ye be true believers" (V. 112). The U'lemma—doctors—differ in the description of the table and the food thereon. Qotādah has related that the prophet Muhammad said:—"The table was lowered with bread and

meat, because they had asked Jesus for food the supply of which would not fail, and he promised them to procure it, and that it would be at hand as long as they abstained from deceit and treachery, but scarcely a day had elapsed when they fell into both these sins." According to other traditions some of them stole food from the table for fear that it would not remain ; wherefore they were changed into monkeys and pigs.

According to Ebn A'bbás, Jesus had enjoined the children of Israel to fast thirty days, whereon they might ask for any thing and would obtain it. They did so, and, on completing the fast, said that they were hungry ; then "Jesus, the son of Mary, said, O God, our Lord, cause a table to descend unto us from heaven, that it may become a festival day unto us" (V. 114). Thereon angels arrived with a table, upon which there were seven loaves with seven fishes, and placed it before them ; whereon all the people partook of the food. A'tyah Ala'wfy states that a fish descended from heaven containing the savour of every kind of food ; whilst Qotádah asserts that it was a table which came down from the sky with all kinds of fruits from Paradise, alighting every morning and evening, and providing the people with food in the same manner as the children of Israel had been fed in the desert with manna and quails. Wahb insisted that God had sent nothing but a barley loaf and a fish, and, on being told that this would not have been of much use, said that God bestowed blessings upon them, that some ate and were succeeded by others till all were filled, and some food was still left. Ka'b-uká'khabár narrated that angels arrived, bearing the table and flying through mid air between heaven and earth, and that it contained every kind of food except flesh-meat !

Muqátel-ulkalby said that the request of Jesus was granted, "God said, Verily, I will cause it to descend unto you ; but whoever among you shall disbelieve hereafter, I will surely punish him with a punishment wherewith I will not punish any other creature" (V. 115). Then Jesus asked Simon Peter, who was one of the chief apostles, whether he had any food with him, and he replied :—"I have two small fishes and six loaves." This food Jesus cut into small pieces, made the people sit down on the grass in companies of ten, and, arising, prayed to God who vouchsafed his blessing. Then Jesus walked among the people, throwing a handful of food to each company and saying :—"Eat in the name of God." The victuals increased so much in quantity that they reached the knees of the people, who ate as much as they could, although they were five thousand in number and more. All the people exclaimed together :—"We bear witness that thou art a servant of God and his apostle."

"God said, O Jesus, verily, I will cause thee to die, and I will take thee up unto me;" (III, 48). Hence the Jews could not

Jesus is taken up to heaven.

deprive him of life; "they slew him not, neither crucified him, but he was represented by one in his likeness" (IV. 156), as will now be shown :—Alkalby narrates after Abi Saleh and after Abi A'bbás, that when Jesus was to depart from this world, he met a company of Jews who, on perceiving him, exclaimed :—"Here comes the sorcerer and son of a sorceress;" and reviled him. When Jesus saw this, he prayed and said :—"O God, thou art my Lord, I am of thy spirit, issued by thy word, and not come of my own accord; O my God, they have reviled me and my mother." God heard his prayer, and changed those who had insulted him into hogs. When the headman and chief of the Jews saw this, he was sore afraid, and apprehensive of the imprecations of Jesus. The Jews nevertheless assembled one day, determined to slay him, and surrounded him and questioned him; but he said :—"O ye congregation of Jews, ye are hateful to God." These words so excited their ire, that they desired immediately to put him to death; but God sent Gabriel to his aid, who lifted him into a window, whence the Almighty caused him to ascend to heaven. Then the chief of the Jews ordered one of his companions, Fultyánús by name, to enter the window and to slay Jesus. When Fultyánús had entered the high window, he could not find Jesus in the apartment, and delayed coming out, and the Jews thought that he was struggling with Jesus to kill him; God, however, made Fultyánús resemble Jesus, so that when he came out, the Jews imagined him to be Jesus, and accordingly slew and crucified him.

Wahb said that when God revealed to Jesus that he would have to leave this world, he was grieved, and lamented because of death; he invited his apostles and prepared food for them, saying :—"Be with me this night, for I have some things to tell you." Accordingly they assembled in the evening, and after they had supped, Jesus attended upon them, exhorted them, washed their hands and wiped them with his garments, which act astonished and displeased them. But he said :—"Whosoever among you rejects anything I do, is not of me, and I am not of him." Accordingly they complied. When he had done this, he said :—"I have this night served you with food and have washed your hands, only to be your example and to show you that I am the best of you; do not therefore exalt yourselves the one above the other, but sacrifice your lives for each other, as I sacrifice mine for you. Ask God for everything you stand in need of, be diligent in prayer, for my end is near." They intended immediately

to pray, but God made them fall asleep, so that they could not. Then Jesus awakened them, saying :—"Praise be to God ! Cannot you watch one night to assist me therein ?" They alleged that they had begun to pray, but were overwhelmed by sleep, and he continued :—"The shepherd is going, but the flock remains," and used other expressions of a similar purport applicable to himself ; he also said :—"One of you will deny me before the cock crows thrice, and another will betray me for a small sum of money." After that the apostles went away and dispersed. Meanwhile, the Jews were endeavouring to capture Jesus, and, getting hold of Simon, one of the apostles, they said :—"This is one of his companions ;" but he denied it and replied :—"I am not one of them." Then they took another apostle and he likewise denied him ; and a cock crowed, whereat he was grieved. When the morning had dawned, another apostle presented himself in the assembly of the Jews and said :—"What will you give me if I point out Jesus to you ?" They agreed to give him thirty drachms and paid them ; whereon he pointed out to them a man who had already before been made to resemble Jesus. This man they caught, bound with ropes, and, dragging him along, shouted :—"Thou hast been resuscitating the dead, healing the blind and the leprous ; wilt thou not free thyself of these bonds ?" They thus reviled him, spat in his face, threw thorns upon him, and erected a structure to crucify him ; but when they had reached the cross the whole earth became dark, and God sent angels who interposed themselves between Jesus and the Jews ; then God caused the apostle who had pointed out Jesus, and whose name was Judas, to assume his semblance and they crucified him, thinking he was Jesus, whom however God had caused to die for three hours, and then lifted him up to heaven according to the verse :—"O Jesus, verily, I will cause thee to die, and I will take thee up unto me, and I will deliver thee from the unbelievers." (III. 48.)

When he, to whom the semblance of Jesus had been imparted by the Almighty, was crucified, Mary, the mother of Jesus, and a woman whom Jesus had cured of lunacy, were crying at the foot of the cross. Then Jesus came and asked :—"For whom are you lamenting." They replied :—"For thee." He continued :—"God, the Most High had lifted me up, and nothing has happened to me but good ; this man is a semblance for them."

Moqâtel narrates that the Jews appointed a watchman over Jesus to follow him wherever he went. One day he ascended a mountain and an angel lifted him up to heaven, and God threw his semblance upon the watchman whom the Jews mistook for Jesus, and in spite of all his excuses, slew and crucified. Qotâdah says :—"The prophet of God has mentioned to us that Jesus had asked his

disciples, which of them would assume his likeness, and one of them, agreeing to do so, was slain, but Jesus was raised to heaven."

Wahb and other learned men state, that after Jesus had been seven days in heaven, God said to him :—"Thy foes, the Jews, have

Descent of Jesus from heaven after seven days. hastened thee, and hindered thee from completing thy instructions to thy companions. Descend, therefore to them; and give them thy last advice; but first of all, make thy appearance to Mary Magdalene, because no one weeps for thee as she does, or grieves for thee as she does. Appear to her and tell her to assemble the apostles, that they may be confirmed in the faith."

The way in which Mary Magdalene had first come in contact with Jesus was this :—She was one of the children of Israel from the vicinity of Antioch, and born in a village called Magdellán. She was a pious woman, but suffered from a flux of blood, which she desired to keep secret, and rejected the offers of marriage made to her by several noble Jews, who ascribed her refusal to her pride, but such was not the case. When she heard of Jesus and of his miraculous cures, she approached him with the hope of being delivered from her malady; but, on beholding his majestic appearance, she was awestruck, and, retiring, touched the hem of his garment. Then Jesus said :—"An innocent maiden has touched me; she obtained her desire and God has purified her," whereon she recovered her health.

When Jesus came down from heaven seven days after his ascension, the mountain on which he alighted, shone brilliantly with celestial light, and when the apostles had assembled around him, he imparted to them his last injunctions, and sent them into various parts of the world to preach the gospel. Then God lifted him again up to heaven, bestowed upon him wings, and clothed him with light, so that he flew with the angels and hovered around the throne of God; also, all desires for food and drink ceased with him; thus he was human and angelic, terrestrial and heavenly.

The apostles dispersed according to the command of Jesus in the night in which he descended, and which is kept by Christians annually as a great festival. He had sent Peter to Rome, Andrew and Matthew to the country the inhabitants whereof eat human beings, Thomas and Lyá to the eastern countries, Phillip and Judas to Qyrván and to Africa, John to Ephesus, the two Jacobs to Jerusalem, Bartholomew to the Arabs, Simon to Barbary; and each apostle was able to speak the language of the country to which he had been sent. Ebn Esahúq narrates that the Jews fell foul of the remaining apostles and companions of Jesus, insulting and persecuting them and leading them about to be reviled. When the king of Rome, who was a polytheist, had been informed that among his

subjects the Jews, a man had appeared towards whom they bore enmity and whom they slew ; that he had informed them of his being an apostle of God, that he had resuscitated the dead and healed the sick among them, that he had made a bird of clay and breathed thereon, upon which it flew, that he had predicted to them the future and worked miracles, he said :—"What hindered you from informing me about him ; for, had you done so, I would have made a separation between him and them." Then he sent for the apostles, whom he delivered from the hands of the Jews. When they arrived, he inquired about the Christian religion, and after he had obtained the information, he made his profession of it. He attacked the Jews and killed many of them ; and this is the origin of Christianity in the country of Rome.

E. REHATSEK.

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ART. III.—PART II. HENRY LOUIS VIVIAN DEROZIO.

(Continued from the "Calcutta Review" for April 1881.)

THE following additional particulars regarding the teacher of Derozio have been obtained since the first part of this memoir was written :—

David Drummond was a native of Fifeshire, born in humble circumstances about the year 1785, eleven years before the death of Burns. As a boy, the fame and poetry of the ploughman poet, which filled all Scotland from end to end, quickened the lad Drummond to emulate in some faint fashion what Burns had achieved for Scotland.

E'en then a wish, I mind its power,  
A wish that to my latest hour,  
Shall strongly heave my breast,  
That I for poor auld Scotland's sake,  
Some usefu, plan or benk could make,  
Or sing a song at least..

In this, *at least*, Drummond was successful. A few of his songs, in the homely Doric of his native land, became popular, before, in the year 1813, he left Scotland for ever ; and even yet in his native shire, the songs of the peasant boy,—who, after a residence in India of 30 years, was laid 40 years ago in the grave, are not altogether forgotten.

The circumstances which impelled the young Scotchman to leave his native land, with a determination never to return to it, are hidden in obscurity ; but there are sound reasons for believing that theological differences with his own family had some hand in it. There were not a few peasant lads in the Scotland of 80 years ago, and have been since then, whose parents pinched and saved and hungered themselves, that their sons might some day "wag their heads in a puppet." The disappointment, grief and rage when hopes of this sort, cherished through embittering poverty and a life-long self-sacrifice almost superhuman, were dashed to the ground by the refusal of the lad to enter the church because his mind had outgrown the narrow theology of the sect he had been educated to enter, may be better imagined than described. Drummond worked his passage out to India and landed, an "interloper," in the year 1813. He lived with a friend at Berhampore for a short time, and was then appointed assistant on Rs. 125 a month, with board and lodging, in the proprietary school of Messrs. Wallace and Measures, after undergoing an examination which



satisfied his employers that his attainments were of a high order. A few years after he became sole proprietor; and the Dhurrum-tollah Academy under Drummond speedily attained the highest position amongst the educational establishments of Calcutta, and aided materially in diffusing a high class English education among the children of Europeans, whose means did not admit of their sending their sons to England, as well as amongst Eurasians and natives. It was one of the peculiarities of Drummond's school that, as in the Scotland of his day, the laird's son and Jock the ploughman's boy sat side by side on the same form with Jenney, the herd's lassie, and romped together before and after school hours, and on the way to and from school, so in Dhurrum-tollah, 60 years ago, European, Eurasian and native lads conned the same lessons, and mingled together in the same school sports. The impetus given by Drummond to education in Calcutta awoke a spirit of competition; the means of education multiplied, and a healthy rivalry between schools of various sorts produced the happiest results.

On the 4th of March 1825 a Phrenological Society was established by the admirers of Gall, Spurzheim and Combe. This society met in the *Hurkaru* rooms, with Dr. Abel as president, Dr. John Grant as vice-president, and Dr. Patterson as secretary. For two years Drummond attended the meetings, and was a silent listener to the arguments and dissertations in favour of phrenology. Then, to the amazement of the society, he published his *Objections to Phrenology*, already noted, in which he declared that "phrenology was not the true interpretation of nature, that its principles threw no sure light on the enquiry regarding the operations of the human mind." This was the death-blow, not only to the society, which never recovered from the vigor of Drummond's attack, but to phrenology in India.

We subjoin a summary of Mr. Drummond's statement of his arguments against Phrenology. The book consists of 210 pages, octavo, and cost eight rupees:—

*First.*—If each organ possesses exclusively and independently perception, volition, memory, &c., it must follow that they are distinct and independent existences; and that unity of consciousness, which is, in other words, a man's being *himself*, is utterly impossible.

*Secondly.*—If a plurality of organs act, at the same moment *in opposition* (that is, the one counteracting the other), it must follow, that they neutralize each other in the ratio of their respective forces.

*Thirdly.*—If a plurality of organs act, at the same moment *in conjunction* (that is, in producing one individual impulse), why not the whole of them, which would amount to all the unity of mind that has ever been contended for?

*Fourthly.*—If the various organs do operate upon and influence each other, this, like everything else, must be done by some particular means. How then is it managed? What connects these jarring counsels? What so opportunely informs "*Cautiousness*" that a foe is in the field, and as instantly directs him to oppose "*Destructiveness*"? What is the medium of communication whereby the excitation of any organ, whatever can have the smallest influence even on its nearest companion? and,

*Fifthly.*—The very essence of Phrenology involves the abandonment both of reason and memory (the one of which directs and judges, the other retains and restores, all the ideas and operations of the mind) by affirming that these, as well as all other attributes of the "*glorious and divine intellect of man*," are the result of thirty-five ungoverned, unconnected instincts.

In the year 1829 shortly after the publication of his *Objections to Phrenology*, the tear and wear, the worry and the fret, and the intense application of a conscientious teacher's life in India, coupled, it may be, with improprieties in diet, completely broke down the health of Drummond. Unlike the majority of his thrifty countrymen, he lived very nearly if not quite up to his income. His residence was one of the most elegantly furnished in Calcutta, and balls and suppers to kindred spirits were frequent. Nevertheless, Mr. Sandford Arnott, in presenting a copy of his own new Persian Grammar, wrote on the fly leaf—"To David Drummond, Esq., who amidst the luxuries of the East never lost his relish for the metaphysics and the muse of Scotland, which he cultivated so successfully." For two years, 1828-30, Drummond sought to regain health by a residence in the "*Straits of Malacca*," and left the care of his flourishing school to a Mr. Wilson, who, whatever other attainments he may have had, was deficient in the energy and organising methods of Drummond. The clerical party in Calcutta, headed by Archdeacon Dealtry, if it did not found, at least patronized, a school in the Circular Road, which professed in newspaper advertisements, to be "the only school in Calcutta where a Christian education could be obtained." This, coupled with the secular system pursued in the Dhurumtollah Academy, and the absences of its moving spirit, began to tell in popular estimation against Drummond's school; so that, when he returned in 1830, with health little improved by his two years' furlough, the Academy had lost ground, and he was unable to carry on the heavy duties which the labour of a large school implied. Soon afterwards, with the money derived from the sale of the good-will and furniture of his school, he retired to the General Hospital, where he remained for years an invalid. Very few, even of his most intimate friends, knew what had become of

him. Many of those who know him best in the years of his prosperity had left India. A new race of men had arisen, striving for literary fame and fortune, who were ignorant of the keen, polished intellect, that in prose and verse had gained the ear of a former generation, and was now drawing out a living death in a Calcutta Hospital. The echoes of the outside world fell faintly on the lonely invalid's ear, and one of these echoes woke the dormant power of Drummond. Sir Charles Metcalfe had freed the Press of India, and amid the general rejoicing, the illumination and decorations and feasts, addresses, and eulogiums, an ode to Metcalfe, which appeared in the *Hurkaru* with the once well-known initials D. D., woke for a time by its eloquence, its depth of feeling, and its fire, a passing interest in Drummond; but there were few indeed of those who admired "the verses, who cared to know that their author was bed-ridden in the depths of poverty, the inmate of a public hospital. An aide-de-camp of Sir Charles Metcalfe called on Mr. Smith, the proprietor of the *Hurkaru*, to ask for the name of the author, which was given; and a subscription for fifty copies of Drummond's poems found its way from the generous Metcalfe to the bed-ridden invalid. This collection of poetry was never published. The few who ever saw it in manuscript, amongst others, D. L. Richardson, spoke of it in terms of the highest commendation, many of the lyrics being charged with "great tenderness and delicacy of feeling." It was Drummond's dying wish that they should be sent to Scotland and published there, where they would be best appreciated by a people familiar with the genius and idioms of the Doric in which they were written, and the character, habits and associations round which he wove his web of song. The vessel containing the manuscript was lost; and thus perished some of the finest Scottish lyrics since the days of Burns and Tannyhill.

By the year 1839 he had so far recovered health that he determined to leave the General Hospital, and begin the battle of life with a frame bowed by disease, a shattered constitution, a mind enervated by long illness and seclusion from the world, and literally without a rupee. Failing health and pinching poverty were henceforth his lot till death. There were still a few friends left to him from the days of his hospitable prosperity, amongst whom were Dr. John Grant and D. L. Richardson. These, with the generous impulse of noble minds, at once offered the broken-down schoolmaster that pecuniary assistance which they could well afford. Drummond appreciated their kind offers, but his Scottish pride, greater in poverty and sickness than in health and prosperity, would accept no help, no obligations, which in-

the state of his health, it was very doubtful whether he would ever be able to repay. He would hang on to the skirts of no man, he would be dependent on no one, he would continue to do as he had done, living his life in his own way, even though that implied pinching poverty and a losing struggle with the inevitable. Drummond's teaching days were over, not only because his impaired health rendered teaching impossible, but his pronounced views on religious subjects, now that schools in Calcutta were abundant, rendered it highly improbable that any school of his conducting would have anything but a very small attendance. He could not teach, but he could write, and he thought he saw an opening for a weekly paper. Under the auspices of Drummond as proprietor, editor, reporter, and all else but printer, the *Weekly Examiner*, "a journal of politics, news and literature" had an existence of nearly two years, 1839-41. To this weekly newspaper both Dr. John Grant and D. L. Richardson frequently contributed, to help their old friend in his new venture; but the burden of the whole lay heavily on Drummond. The ability with which the *Weekly Examiner* was conducted was generally admitted, and its opinions were respected by a large portion of the press of India.

However great Drummond's talents undoubtedly were, there were conditions of success which he could not command. His leaders were finished essays, logical and keen; but his readers were thirsting for news; the first Afghan war was working up to its tragic-ending. News, Drummond could not pay for; but he served it up second-hand. Besides this, his long illness and reverse of fortune had rendered him irritable, and he took offence at the neglect with which the *Englishman* treated his small venture, and never missed an opportunity of hitting heavily and effectively. The strength of his reasoning was always superior to his diction. He wrote hurriedly and diffusely, and cared little for style if his arguments were logically consistent and convincing. At all times he wrote with great vigour and originality, but he was occasionally rash, impulsive and deficient in tact; and few things delighted him more than originating a controversy and arguing through thick and thin for the view he at first adopted. His religious opinions were never aired in the pages of the *Examiner*, but in private, with the few remaining of his old friends, he launched out fearlessly on a sea of speculation and discussion, that would make the listener catch his breath in wonder and amazement. To him the right of private judgment claimed by the fathers of the Reformation three hundred years ago, was a very precious thing. He would believe nothing, accept nothing, unless it could be made as evident and reasonable as a mathematical

axiom. Tradition and antiquity were to him no authority ; and he built up his system of faith and the universe, on a basis not much broader than the *Cogito ergo sum* of Descartes ; but he had neither health nor leisure to think it out and formulate it. Had both been granted him, the name of David Drummond would, in all likelihood, have ranked with that of his own great countryman, David Hume, in the roll of Philosophical Sceptics. By the middle of 1841, Drummond was again prostrate with disease ; and the struggle which for months he carried on in weakness and pain to keep faith with his subscribers, was nothing short of heroic. Ill-advised, he resorted to stimulants, notably laudanum, in large quantities, to whip the last effort out of an enfeebled body and a harassed mind. Unable to sit up to write, or even to write in bed, his editorials were dictated in spasmodic gasps between the intervals of weakness and bodily agony. At last he gave the struggle up. He was not doing justice to his subscribers ; he would not take their money, when he could give them no fair equivalent.

The *Weekly Examiner* was abandoned. The small sum available from outstanding debts was collected, and with it, broken in health, crushed in spirits, enfeebled in mind, the friends of his better years either dead or out of India, David Drummond for eighteen months lived a life of bodily agony in the depths of a biting poverty not often paralleled, with a "resignation, tranquillity and stoicism rarely met with." Murmur or complaint never passed his lips, and in the April of 1843, at the age of fifty-six, David Drummond, *interloper* and schoolmaster, slept the sleep that knows no waking, to such a life, at least, as that through which he had passed.

The estimation in which Derozio was held by his contemporaries even at the time of his connexion with the Hindu School, may be gathered from the following extract from the preface of Miss Emma Roberts' "*Oriental Scenes, with other Poems.*" In the year 1830 this gifted lady was resident at Agra, and her friend Derozio undertook to see her volume of poems through the press—

"There is however one person to whom more particular acknowledgments are due, and she, with great pleasure, mentions her obligations to Mr. H. L. V. Derozio, to whose invaluable assistance she is indebted for the superintendence of her volume through the press, a task which the distance of her residence from Calcutta precluded her from performing, and which none, save a poet, could have executed so ably. The author must ever deem herself fortunate in procuring, for so important an undertaking, the aid of a gentleman whose well-

"earned reputation confers honour upon the pages which have experienced his guarding care from those typographical errors which they could not otherwise have escaped." Had Derozio been the wild "Atheist, the immoral poet," the constant referrer "to the most lascivious plays of the Restoration," the dreamer and teacher of filthy grossness, it is not at all likely that the accomplished Emma Roberts would have soiled the purity of her name, and tarnished her reputation by allowing Derozio to handle her proof sheets and emendate her verses. We look on this tribute to the worth of Derozio as one of the strongest refutations of all the calumny and abuse heaped on him.

The teaching of Derozio, the force of his individuality, his winning manner, his wide knowledge of books, his own youth, which placed him in close sympathy with his pupils, his open, generous chivalrous nature, his humour and playfulness, his fearless love of truth, his hatred of all that was unmanly and mean, his ardent love of India, evidenced in his conversations and recorded in his lines,

"My country ! in thy day of glory past  
A beauteous halo circled round thy brow,"

his social intercourse with his pupils, his unrestricted efforts for their growth in virtue, knowledge and manliness, produced an intellectual and moral revolution in Hindu society since unparalleled. The effect produced by Derozio on his pupils and on the higher Hindu society of his day, is well and truthfully recorded in a short manuscript history of the Hindu College by Baboo Hurro Mohun Chatterji, which the present librarian of the Presidency College, Baboo Chandi Churn Chatterji, son of the foregoing, has kindly placed at our disposal. It should be premised that the extract which follows has reference to the position of affairs in the Hindu College during 1828, a year after Derozio's appointment. That year the subjects he taught, or rather the text-books studied in his classes, had been drawn up and fixed by the Committee of Management, which consisted of three Hindu gentlemen, with Dr. H. H. Wilson, the eminent Sanscrit scholar, then secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, representing the Government of India, and David Hare, the life long friend of the natives. These were,

Goldsmith's History of Greece, Rome and England.

Russell's Modern Europe.

Robertson's Charles the Fifth.

Gay's Fables.

Pope's Homer's Iliad and Odyssey.

Dryden's Virgil.

Milton's Paradise Lost.

Shakespeare, one of the tragedies

This was the ground gone over in English History and Literature

in the first three classes of the Hindu College during 1828. Derozio taught the second and third classes; and we venture to assert that this high class teaching, winged with the strength, learning and love of Derozio's individuality, had gone home to the brain and heart of the highest class of native society in Calcutta before Duff, over whose work, which indeed was but the complement of Derozio's, such torrents of eloquence have been poured, ever set his foot in India.

"Added to these," I quote from the manuscript history, "the students of the first, second and third classes had the advantage of attending a conversazione established in the schools by Mr. Derozio, where readings in poetry, literature, and moral philosophy were carried on. The meetings were held almost daily after or before school hours. Though they were without the knowledge or sanction of the authorities, yet Mr. Derozio's disinterested zeal and devotion in bringing up the students in these subjects was unbounded, and characterised by a love and philanthropy which up to this day has not been equalled by any teacher either in or out of the service. The students in their turn loved him most tenderly; and were ever ready to be guided by his counsels and imitate him in all their daily actions in life. In fact, Mr. Derozio acquired such an ascendancy over the minds of his pupils that they would not move even in their private concerns without his counsel and advice. On the other hand, he fostered their taste in literature, taught the evil effects of idolatry and superstition; and so far formed their moral conceptions and feelings as to make them completely above the antiquated ideas and aspirations of the age. Such was the force of his instructions that the conduct of the students out of the college was most exemplary, and gained them the applause of the outside world, not only in a literary and scientific point of view, but what was of still greater importance, they were all considered men of 'truth.' Indeed, the 'College boy' was a synonym for truth, and it was a general belief and saying among our countrymen, which those that remember the time must acknowledge, that 'such a boy is incapable of falsehood because he is a College boy.'"

In May 1829 several of the boys in the first and second classes had acquired a remarkable degree of courage and spirit in expressing their opinions on all subjects; and particularly on the subject of religion. "The principles and practices of the Hindu religion were openly ridiculed and condemned, and angry disputes were held on moral subjects; the sentiments of Hume had been widely diffused and warmly patronized.....The most glowing harangues were made at debating clubs, then very numerous. "The Hindu Religion was denounced as vile and corrupt and

"unworthy the regard of rational beings. The degraded state of the Hindus formed the topic of many debates; their ignorance and superstition were declared to be the causes of such a state, and it was then resolved that nothing but a liberal education could enfranchise the minds of the people. The degradation of the female mind was viewed with indignation; the question at a very large meeting was carried unanimously, that Hindu women should be taught, and we are assured of the fact that the wife of one of the leaders of this new movement was a most accomplished lady, who reckoned amongst the subjects with which she was acquainted, Moral Philosophy and Mathematics. The facts that we have mentioned will serve to explain the subjoined order of the Managers."

It having come to the knowledge of the Managers that a belief prevails very generally "that the students of the Hindu College are liable to lose all religious principles whatever, it is resolved that Mr. D'Anselm (head master) be requested to communicate with the teachers, and check as far as possible all disquisitions tending to unsettle the belief of the boys in the great principles of Natural Religion."

This order of the Managers seems to have produced little or no effect in stemming the rising tide of free enquiry, and so earnest were some of the lads, and so powerfully influenced by the teaching of Derozio, that they refused to be invested with the Brahminical thread; and, instead of repeating prayers to deities which their enlightened reason and awakened conscience told them were merely the distorted, mythic creation of former days and earlier men, they chose to repeat some noble passage from the Iliad. In the February of 1830 further orders were issued by the Managers, strictly forbidding the teachers from having any communications with their pupils on religious subjects, and specially the religion of the Hindus; and that practices, inconsistent with Hindu ideas of propriety, such as eating or drinking in the class rooms, were to be visited with dismissal. In the words of the manuscript history—"It was not until advantage had been taken by some of the clergy-men (Duff, Dealtry, Adam and Hill) of this growing liberality, in announcing a course of lectures (to educated Bengalees) of Natural and Revealed Religion (in Duff's house in College Square, nearly opposite the Hindu College) that the Managers were determined to crush the reformers by promulgating that famous order which called forth the disapprobation of the public." We quote the orders: The Managers of the Anglo-Indian College having heard that several of the students are in the habit of attending societies at which political and religious discussions are held (the discussions which led to the first Reform Bill, were agitating the band of



lads influenced by Derozio), "think it necessary to announce their "strong disapprobation of the practice, and to prohibit its continu-  
"ance. Any student being present at such a society after the pro-  
"mulgation of this order will incur their serious displeasure."

Immediately on the promulgation of this order, every newspaper and journal in Calcutta, secular and religious, charged one after the other against the Managers of the Hindu College, all maintaining the right of public discussion. The Atheism of Derozio has been so often asserted; his antagonism to Christianity taken for granted; and the influence of his teaching declared to "be subversive of all religion whatever," that we hope it may be some answer to these disreputable charges, glibly made by well-meaning men, to quote a paragraph from a leader in the *India Gazette*, which has considerable resemblance to the style of Derozio, and which, if not written by him, certainly speaks his sentiments regarding the action of the management.

"We regret much to see the names of such men as David Hare and Rossomoy Dutt attached to a document which presents an example of presumptuous, tyrannical and absurd intermeddling with the right of private judgment on political and religious questions. The interference is presumptuous, for the Managers, as Managers, have no right whatever to dictate to the students of the institution how they shall dispose of their time out of College. It is tyrannical, for, although they have not the right, they have the power, if they will bear the consequences, to inflict their serious displeasure on the disobedient. It is absurd and ridiculous, for if the students knew their rights, and had the spirit to claim them, the Managers would not venture to enforce their own order; and it would fall to the ground, an abortion of intolerance. We recommend the Managers to be beware of pursuing the course they have begun. We are aware of their motives, and if we saw any danger of the College passing under sectarian influence, we should be as stoutly opposed to such a result as we are to their present proceedings. But Christianity must not and shall not be put down by the means they are adopting. It must, at least, have a hearing from those who are willing to hear, and this is all that its friends desire. They do not desire that any regulations should be made by the Managers in favour of Christianity, but a Christian government and a Christian community will not tolerate that the Managers of an institution, supported in part by public money, should single out Christianity as the only religion against which they direct their official influence and authority. We hope that Messrs. Hill and Duff will revive the meetings, if they have been discontinued, and that their proceedings will henceforth be conducted on just and equal terms. We hope that the students of the Hindu College will

continue to attend in spite of the prohibition of the Managers. And we hope that the Managers will learn to keep within their own province, else they will have a storm about their ears, which will be sooner raised than laid."

Two months after, that is, in April 1831, decisive measures were taken to remove Derozio and the more advanced of his pupils who had publicly avowed their hostility to Hinduism. The chief mover in this matter was Ram Comul Sen, the grandfather of the well-known Keshub Chunder Sen, the leader of the Brahmo Somaj. Peary Chand Mittra, himself a distinguished pupil of the Hindu school, and one of that band of the cultured natives of India who are the true friends of their countrymen, and the advocates of every measure of usefulness for their advancement, has very recently given to the public a *Life of Dewan Ram Comul Sen*, which will be read with interest by all interested in the people of India. Ram Comul Sen began life as a compositor in the Hindusthani Press of Dr. Hunter, on eight rupees a month. From this humble position he worked himself up to hold a very eminent place in the educated Society of Calcutta and in the service of India. Before his death he was a member of nearly every learned, educational and philanthropic society in Calcutta, had published his English and Bengali Dictionary, and taken an active and leading part in every matter in which the best interests of his countrymen were concerned, and notably in the spread of European knowledge. He was a firm friend of the orthodox Hindus; and as such, viewed with alarm the consequences of Derozio's teaching, which the more hot-headed among native youths carried beyond the conclusions of their master. The requisition calling the meeting of the Managers of the Hindu College, which resulted in the practical dismissal of Derozio, was drawn up by Ram Comul Sen, and not only exhibits the alarm and distrust then prevalent in Hindu society, but bears on the face of it some of those charges against Derozio which were then industriously circulated, and which Derozio himself repudiated and challenged his accusers to substantiate.

The requisition is as follows :—

"The object of convening this meeting is, the necessity of checking the growing evil, and the public alarm arising from the very unwarranted arrangements and misconduct of a certain teacher to whom a great many children have been trusted, who, it appears, has materially injured their morals, and introduced some strange system, the tendency of which is destructive to their moral character and to the peace of society. The affair is well known to almost every one and need not require to be further stated. The consequence is

that no less than twenty-five pupils of respectable families have been withdrawn from the College, a list of which is submitted. There are no less than a hundred and sixty boys absent, some of whom are supposed to be sick ; but many have proposed to remove, unless proper remedies are adopted. A list of these is also submitted."

At the meeting convened by Ram Comul Sen, various proposals were made, such as that—"Mr. Derozio, being the root of "all the evils and cause of public alarm, should be discharged "from the College, and all communications between him and "the pupils cut off. That such of the students of the higher "class whose bad habits are known, and who were in the 'dining "party,' should be removed. That all those students publicly hostile to Hinduism, and the established customs of the country, and who have proved themselves such by their conduct, should be turned out. That boys should not be admitted indiscriminately without previous enquiry regarding their character. *That whenever Europeans are procurable*, a preference shall be given to "them, their character and religion being ascertained before "admission. That if any of the boys go to hear or attend private lectures or meetings, they be dismissed. That such books "as may injure their morals should not be allowed to be taught, "brought, or read in the College. That a separate place be fitted "for the teachers to dine in ; and the practice of eating on the "school table be discontinued."

These proposals were carried in their main features ; and in reference to the first, the greatest amount of discussion took place. The following question was keenly discussed by the Managers, *viz.*, "Whether the management had any just grounds to conclude "that the morals and tenets of Mr. Derozio, as far as ascertainable from the effects they have produced upon his scholars, are "such as to render him an improper person to be entrusted with "the education of youth."

Two of the Managers declared that all they knew of Mr. Derozio was from report only. One acquitted him of all blame for want of proof. Three considered Mr. Derozio an improper person for the education of youth. One Baboo was firmly convinced that Mr. Derozio was far from being an improper person for such an office. "David Hare recorded his opinion that Mr. Derozio was a highly competent teacher"—and no one had more and better opportunity than Hare had to form an opinion on the subject—and that "his instructions have always been most beneficial." Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson said that he had never observed any ill effects from Mr. Derozio's instruction, and that he considered Mr. Derozio to be a teacher of superior ability.

On this question the majority seemed in favour of Derozio. The next question discussed was whether, in the present state of public feeling amongst the Hindu community, it was expedient to dismiss Derozio.

“ Four Baboos declared it was necessary.

“ Two that it was expedient,

“ One that it was unnecessary.”

Hare and Wilson declined to vote on a question relating to the state of native feeling alone. The removal of Derozio was thereupon determined on, and the management were wise enough to conclude “ that they had neither the power nor the right to enforce the prohibition of the boys attending private lectures or meetings.”

Mr. Wilson acquainted Derozio with the decision of the Managing Committee, and the following is Derozio's reply :—

*Calcutta, 25th April 1831.*

DR. H. H. WILSON.

MY DEAR SIR,—The accompanying is my resignation ; but you will observe that I have taken the liberty of departing from your suggestion of making it appear a merit on my part. If I had grounds to believe that my continued connection with the College could be really and permanently prejudicial to that institution, the spirit to leave it without any suggestion, but that of my own mind, would not be wanting. I do not conceive, however, that a temporary shock needs such a sacrifice ; and I cannot, therefore, conceal from myself the fact, that my resignation is compulsory. Under these circumstances, I trust you will see the propriety of my declining to make that appear a merit which is really a necessity. Nevertheless, I thank you heartily for having recommended me to do so, because I perceive it to be the dictates of a generous heart anxious to soothe what it could not heal. But I dare not ascribe to myself a merit which I do not possess ; and if my dismissal be considered a deserved disgrace by the wise and good, I must endure it.

As the intemperate spirit displayed against me by the Native Managers of the College is not likely to subside so completely as to admit of my return to that institution as speedily as you expect ; and as the chances of life may shape my future destiny, so as to bring me but rarely in contact with you ; I cannot permit this opportunity to pass, without recording my grateful acknowledgments to you for all the kindness you have shown me since I have had the honour and pleasure of being known to you. In particular, I must thank you for the delicacy with which you conveyed to me, on Saturday last, the

*Henry Louis Vivian Derozio.*

resolution of the Managing Committee and for the sympathy which I perceive my case had excited in you.

Such circumstances, when genuine and unaffected, make deeper impressions on my feelings than those greater acts of favour, the motives for which we cannot always trace.

Believe me to be, my dear Sir, with sentiments of respect and regard,

Yours sincerely,

H. L. V. DEROZIO.

The following is the letter referred to, containing Derozio's resignation :—

To

*Calcutta, 25th April 1831.*

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE OF THE HINDU COLLEGE.

GENTLEMEN,—Having been informed that the result of your deliberation in close committee on Saturday last was a resolution to dispense with my further services at the College, I am induced to place my resignation in your hands, in order to save myself from the mortification of receiving formal notice of my dismissal.

It would however be unjust to my reputation, which I value, were I to abstain from recording in this communication certain facts which I presume do not appear upon the face of your proceedings. Firstly, no charge was brought against me. Secondly, if any accusation was brought forward, I was not informed of it. Thirdly, I was not called up to face my accusers, if any such appeared. Fourthly, no witness was examined on either side. Fifthly, my conduct and character underwent scrutiny, and no opportunity was afforded me of defending either. Sixthly, while a majority did not, as I have learned, consider me an unfit person to be connected with College, it was resolved, notwithstanding, that I should be removed from it, so that, unbiased, unexamined, and unheard, you resolve to dismiss me, without even the mockery of a trial. These are facts. I offer not a word of comment.

I must also avail myself of this opportunity of recording my thanks to Mr. Wilson, Mr. Hare, and Baboo Sreekissen Sing for the part which, I am informed, they respectively took in your proceedings on Saturday last.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

H. L. V. DEROZIO.

Horace Hayman Wilson's reply to the above letter of Derozio we give below :—It contains the wild and unfounded charges

brought against Derozio, sedulously circulated, and implicitly believed during his lifetime and after his death; and it produced the manly vindication of himself, the only one which Derozio was ever permitted to make, and which came direct from his sensitive nature, burning under a sense of injustice and the cowardly calumnious attacks of men who feared his influence more than they loved truth.

25th April, 1831.

DEAR DEROZIO,—I believe you are right: although I could have wished you had been less severe upon the native Managers, whose decision was founded merely upon the expediency of yielding to popular clamour, the justice of which it was not incumbent on them to investigate. There was no trial intended—there was no condemnation. An impression had gone abroad to your disadvantage, the effects of which were injurious to the College; and which would not have been dispelled by any proof you could have produced, that it was unfounded. I suppose there will still be much discussion on the subject, privately only I trust, but that there will be; and I should like to have the power of speaking confidently on three charges brought against you. Of course, it rests entirely with you to answer my questions. Do you believe in a God? Do you think respect and obedience to parents no part of moral duty? Do you think the inter-marriage of brothers and sisters innocent and allowable? Have you ever maintained these doctrines by argument in the hearing of our scholars? Now I have no right to interrogate you on these or any other of your sentiments; but these are the rumoured charges against you, and I should be very happy if I could say boldly they were false; or could produce your written and unqualified denial, for the satisfaction of those whose good opinion is worth having.

Yours sincerely,  
H. H. WILSON.

Next morning Derozio dashed off the following letter:—

26th April, 1831.

H. H. WILSON, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter which I received last evening should have been answered earlier, but for the interference of other matters which required my attention. I beg your acceptance of this apology for the delay, and thank you for the interest which your communication proves that you continue to take in me. I am sorry, however, that the questions you have put

to me, will impose upon you the disagreeable necessity of reading this long justification of my conduct and opinions. But I must congratulate myself that this opportunity is afforded me of addressing so influential and distinguished an individual as yourself, upon matters which, if true, might seriously affect my character. My friends need not, however, be under any apprehension for me, for myself, the consciousness of right is my safeguard and my consolation.

(I.) I have never denied the existence of a God, in the hearing of any human being. If it be wrong to speak at all upon such a subject, I am guilty, but I am neither afraid, nor ashamed to confess having stated the doubts of philosophers upon this head, because I have also stated the solution of these doubts. Is it forbidden anywhere to argue upon such a question? If so, it must be equally wrong to adduce an argument upon either side. Or is it consistent with an enlightened notion of truth to wed ourselves to only one view of so important a subject, resolving to close our eyes and ears against all impressions that oppose themselves to it?

How is any opinion to be strengthened but by completely comprehending the objections that are offered to it, and exposing their futility? And what have I done more than this? Entrusted as I was for some time with the education of youth, peculiarly circumstanced, was it for me to have made them port and ignorant dogmatists, by permitting them to know what could be said upon only one side of grave questions? Setting aside the narrowness of mind, which such a course might have evinced, it would have been injurious to the mental energies and acquirements of the young men themselves. And (whatever may be said to the contrary) I can vindicate my procedure by quoting no less orthodox authority than Lord Bacon:—"If a man," says this philosopher (and no one ever had a better right to pronounce an opinion upon such matters than Lord Bacon) "will begin with certainties he shall end in doubt." This I need scarcely observe is always the case with contented ignorance, when it is roused too late to thought. One doubt suggests another, and universal scepticism is the consequence. I therefore thought it my duty to acquaint several of the Collegio students with the substance of Hume's celebrated dialogue between Cleanthes and Philo, in which the most subtil and refined arguments against Theism are adduced. But I have also furnished them with Dr. Reid's and Dugald Stewart's more acute replies to Hume, replies which to this day continue unrefuted. "This is the head and front of my offending." If the religious opinions of the students have become unhinged in consequence of the course I have

pursued, the fault is not mine. To produce convictions was not within my power; and if I am to be condemned for the Atheism of some, let me receive credit for the Theism of others. Believe me, my dear Sir, I am too thoroughly imbued with a deep sense of human ignorance, and of the perpetual vicissitudes of opinion, to speak with confidence even of the most unimportant matters. Doubt and uncertainty besiege us too closely, to admit the boldness of dogmatism to enter an enquiring mind; and far be it from me to say "*this is*" "*and that is not,*" when after the most extensive acquaintance with the researches of science, and after the most daring flights of genius, we must confess with sorrow and disappointment, that humility becomes the highest wisdom, for the highest wisdom assures man of his ignorance.

(II.) Your next question is, "Do you think respect and obedience to parents no part of moral duty?" For the first time in my life did I learn from your letter that I am charged with inculcating so hideous, so unnatural, so abominable a principle. The authors of such infamous fabrications are too degraded for my contempt. Had my father been alive, he would have repelled the slander by telling my calumniators, that a son who had endeavoured to discharge every filial duty as I have done, could never have entertained such a sentiment; but my mother can testify how utterly inconsistent it is with my conduct: and upon her testimony I might risk my vindication. However, I will not stop there: so far from having ever maintained or taught such an opinion, I have always insisted upon respect and obedience to parents. I have indeed condemned that feigned respect which some children evince, as being hypocritical and injurious to the moral character; but I have always endeavoured to cherish the sentient feelings of the heart, and to direct them into proper channels. Instances, however, in which I have insisted upon respect and obedience to parents, are not wanting. I shall quote two important ones for your satisfaction: and as the parties are always at hand, you may at any time substantiate what I say. About two or three months ago Dakhinarunjon Mookerjee (who has made so great a noise lately) informed me that his father's treatment of him had become utterly insupportable, and that his only chance of escaping it was by leaving his father's home. Although I was aware of the truth of what he had said, I dissuaded him from taking such a course, telling him that much should be endured from a parent, and that the world would not justify his conduct if he left his home without being actually turned out of it. He took my advice, though I regret to say only for a short time. A few weeks



ago he left his father's house, and to my great surprise engaged another in my neighbourhood. After he had completed his arrangements with his landlord, he informed me for the first time of what he had done ; and when I asked him why he had not consulted me before he took such a step :—"Because," replied he, "I knew you would have prevented it."

The other instance relates to Mohesh Chunder Sing. Having recently behaved rudely to his father and offended some of his other relatives, he called upon me at my house with his uncle Umachurn Bose and his cousin Nundolall Sing. I reproached him severely for his contumacious behaviour, and told him that, until he sought forgiveness from his father, I would not speak to him. I might mention other cases, but these may suffice.

(III.) "Do you think marriages of brothers and sisters innocent and allowable?" This is your third question. "NO," is my distinct reply ; and I never taught such an absurdity. But I am at a loss to find out how such misrepresentations as those to which I have been exposed have become current. No person who has ever heard me speak upon such subjects could have circulated these untruths ; at least, I can hardly bring myself to think that one of the College students with whom I have been connected could be either such a fool as to mistake every thing I ever said, or such a knave, as wilfully to misstate my opinions. I am rather disposed to believe that weak people who are determined upon being alarmed, finding nothing to be frightened at, have imputed these follies to me. That I should be called a sceptic and an infidel is not surprising, as these names are always given to persons who think for themselves in religion ; but I assure you, that the imputations which you say are alleged against me, I have learned for the first time from your letter, never having dreamed that sentiments so opposed to my own could have been ascribed to me. I must trust, therefore, to your generosity to give the most unqualified contradiction to these ridiculous stories. I am not a greater monster than most people, though I certainly should not know myself were I to credit all that is said of me. I am aware that for some weeks, some busy bodies have been manufacturing the most absurd and groundless stories about me and even about my family. Some fools went so far as to say my sister, while others said my daughter (though I have not one) was to have been married to a Hindu young man !!! I traced the report to a person called Brindabone Ghosal, a poor Brahmin, who lives by going from house to house to entertain the inmates with the news of the day, which he invariably invents. However, it is a satisfaction to reflect that scandal, though often noisy, is not everlasting.

Now that I have replied to your questions, allow me to ask you, my dear Sir, whether the expediency of yielding to popular clamour can be offered in justification of the measures adopted by the Native Managers of the College towards me? Their proceedings certainly do not record any condemnation of me, but does it not look very like condemnation of a man's conduct and character to dismiss him from office when popular clamour is against him? Vague reports and unfounded rumours went abroad concerning me; the Native Managers confirm them by acting towards me as they have done. Excuse my saying it, but I believe there was a determination on their part to get rid of me, not to satisfy popular clamour, but their own bigotry. Had my religion and morals been investigated by them, they could have had no grounds to proceed against me. They therefore thought it most expedient to make no enquiry; but with anger and precipitation to remove me from the institution. The slovenly manner in which they have done so, is a sufficient indication of the spirit by which they were moved; for in their rage they have forgotten what was due even to common decency. Every person who has heard of the way in which they have acted is indignant, but to complain of their injustice, would be paying them a greater compliment than they deserve.

In concluding this letter allow me to apologise for its inordinate length, and to repeat my thanks for all that you have done for me in the unpleasant affair by which it has been occasioned.

I remain, &c.,

H. L. V. DEROZIO.

As early as the year 1833, this indignant denial of the vile calumnies circulated by bigotry was printed in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review* (see pages 92-4); and the same correspondence appeared in the *Bengal Obituary*, and must have been perfectly well known, not only to Dr. Duff who spent an active life in India and England for nearly thirty years after 1848, but to Duff's biographer, Dr. Smith. Not only in the newspapers of the day, but in a fragmentary sketch of Derozio's life given in the *Bengal Obituary*, these charges were declared to be "the offspring of unfounded calumny," and yet, in the face of this, Dr. George Smith, fifty years after the events, revives these detestable untruths, and sneers at Derozio as "a Eurasian of some ability and much conceit," in order that his faultless idol, Dr. Duff, should walk the stage, "the first missionary of modern times," in the borrowed plumes of the achievements of the dead Derozio. Duff needs no such borrowed plumes; and his biographer, by the ungracious

belittleing of Derozio, and the all but ignoring of the influences which alone made it possible for the Scottish missionary to effect what he did, mars the usefulness and truthfulness of his work, and lays himself open to charges which few biographers would care to incur. We have set forth chronologically the influence of Derozio on the higher class Hindu youth, and the consequences which followed on the impact of Western thought and culture, as exemplified in the teaching of Derozio, on Eastern culture and the higher Hinduism of India. We have endeavoured to exhibit, that to the despised and all but unknown Eurasian lad, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, belongs the chief glory and high honour of being the first, and to this day, the most effectual motive power to move to its very depths the religious sentiments, aspirations and beliefs of educated Hindus. That Duff only entered on the heritage of Derozio is evidenced in many ways; and that, had it not been for the well-meant zeal of Duff and other Christian ministers, and the fierce bigotry of religious zealots, Derozio's splendid powers and unparalleled influence might have effected a mightier revolution in the religious beliefs of educated Hindus, than all the missions and missionaries sent to India since the days of St. Francis Xavier. How little hold Duff had on the higher class, or any educated class, of Hindus, is truthfully attested in the pages of *The Enquirer*, a journal conducted, fifty years ago, by one of the most distinguished pupil-friends of Derozio still alive. And how truly and fearlessly and fairly Derozio taught his pupil-friends to think and reason, may be gathered from the pages of that journal. We quote a single passage from *The Enquirer* of March 1832, little more than two months after Derozio was laid in his grave; and in this connexion, it should be borne in mind that the influence of Derozio over the educated higher class native society of Calcutta continued unabated till his death, and is even now a living reality. We quote from *The India Gazette* of March 10th, 1832, in which the article from *The Enquirer* is reproduced:—

“Mr. Duff's lectures on *Christianity*, intended originally for the Hindus, are now attended by them very rarely. The seats of the audience remain for the most part vacant, but for a few East Indian and European gentlemen that take some interest in the business. The Hindus, we know not why, have given up in a great measure hearing the Rev. gentleman: we could recognise for some time past only about half a dozen natives among those that attended the lectures. This is certainly a neglect; for considering the claims that have been attributed to Christianity, and the influence it is said to have had over the civilization of man, its enquiry does become important to every one. In consequence of the

few Hindus that attend Mr. Duff, a friend has undertaken to write a weekly abstract, of the lectures for *the Enquirer*. We insert the last lecture delivered on the 8th. While we hope on the one hand that the argument of the Parson will be considered upon by our Hindu friends, we must also on the other hand ask the lecturer to give up his indiscriminate abusive declamations against any that are said not to be followers of his doctrines. To say, for instance, that those who after hearing his lectures are not convinced of the truth of his positions, are unbelievers (of Mr. Duff's religion), not from any error of the understanding, but from obstinacy, is equally illiberal and unbecoming a lecturer on Christianity. Mr. Duff is very fond of the expression '*the disease*' (of those that differ from him in religion) '*is in the heart and not in the head,*' but hitherto every one perceives he is led more by enthusiasm than by sound judgment..... We blame the Hindus in consequence of their fanatical cursing and swearing against apostates from their religion; and Mr. Duff, with all his information and all his refined notions, can be but little better than they, if he be so intolerant; and if he in a public capacity charge with criminal and wilful obstinacy those persons that do not feel the truth of religion after his manner. Mr. Duff also dotes on the expression, '*we are bound to believe this, and if we doubt this, we must reject all history;*' here again is a very great misapprehension. Belief is not arbitrary. It comes home of itself, how, we do not know. We believe this, because we feel it so. We doubt that, because, likewise, we feel it so. To say we are bound to do a thing is to suppose we have the power to do it; and we are *morally obliged to exercise that power*. Now, bring this phrase to matters of religion, and see how inconsistent you become. The Christian believes in Jesus; the Hindu does not; if both of them be sincere, the former feels the truth to be in Jesus, the latter takes a contrary view, and feels it elsewhere. We have supposed both to be true in their saying; and if we be an advocate for the opinion of the one, the utmost one can say against the other is, *he is much mistaken or deceived*; in other words his *understanding has erred*. To say this is one thing, and to assume Mr. Duff's dictatorial tone, and attribute obstinacy and criminal wickedness to unbelievers of our system, is another and a different position. A word to the wise is sufficient, and we dismiss the subject with the hope that our lecturer will stick to such arguments and such reasonings as may bring conviction to the minds of his hearers; and give up imputing bad hearts to them, and thereby running the risk of prejudicing them against him."

This is the sort of criticism which Derozio's students were able

from his training, in the class-room, the *Academic* and kindred Societies, and in his intercourse with them as friends, to bring to bear on the argumentations of Duff and other advocates of Christianity. That Krishna Mohun Bauerjee, Mohesh Chunder Ghose, and others of Derozio's pupils went over to Christianity, was only what was to be expected, was only the logical consequence of the teaching of their friend and master; but that some one else should claim the credit of this awakening, and this powerful impulse of independent thinking amongst higher Hinduism, is due to the ignorance and fanatical hero-worship of men who are unable apparently to see outside the rim of their own theological horizon, and who measure the universe of thought and feeling by the narrow institutes of sectarian theology, the Confession of Faith and Catechisms and effete metaphysics of "generations of men who; neither in learning, culture, training, purity of life or common sense, have any claim to rank as teachers or leaders of thought, or formulators of religious dogma for all men and for all succeeding ages.

Duff himself, in his own rhetorical way, admits to the full, that the result of English thought and teaching on higher Hindu Society had been effected and exhibited before his coming to India, and unconsciously pays the highest tribute to the influence of Derozio: In the month of June 1830, that is, less than a month after he landed in Calcutta, Duff writes thus:—"We rejoiced when, in the metropolis of British India, we fairly came in contact with a rising body of natives *who had learned to think and discuss all subjects with unshackled freedom*, though that freedom was ever apt to degenerate into license in attempting to demolish the claims and pretensions of the Christian as well as every other professedly revealed faith. We hailed the circumstance as indicating the approach of a period for which we had waited and longed and prayed."

This "rising body of natives who had learned to think and discuss all subjects with unshackled freedom" was the work of the Hindu College English education, and the product of Derozio's teaching and influence. Students of Duff there were none: and it is nearly 14 months after June 1830, before the first examination of the General Assembly's Mission School took place, and then the highest pupils or students of Duff's school, on the 15th of August 1831, in the Freemasons' Lodge, 118, Dhurrumtollah, passed a highly creditable oral examination in distinguishing the parts of speech, repeating the rules of syntax, giving the roots of the leading words in their reading lesson, and answering questions on Genesis and the Gospel (see the *India Gazette* for Monday, August 15th, 1831). Was it these students

of Duff's that Dr. George Smith refers to in a passage of his biography? (see page 140, vol. I). "It was a sultry night in August (1831) when twenty of the foremost students of his own (Duff's) and of the Hindu College took their places (in a room in Duff's house) in expectation of a novel exposition." If so, their progress since their examination in the same month must have been even more marvellous than any educational statistic yet recorded.

Derozio's career, after his severing his connection with the Hindu College, was essentially that of a public man and journalist; poetry he rarely touched. Though but a lad of one and twenty, he had taken a leading part in one of the greatest and most momentous movements in Indian society, from which his name can never be dissociated; and he had already made his mark as a leader of thought in India, as a philosopher of unusual acuteness, as a poet distinguished by wonderful command of language, fertility of imagination, and that wide sympathy with Nature which marks the highest intellects, and as the advocate of his own class. There remained for him, though he knew it not, but eight more months of life and work. Full of life and hope and conscious power, the sole support of his now widowed mother, his sister Amelia, and his younger brother, he projected, managed and edited the *East Indian*, the first newspaper that was the recognized organ of Eurasians, and which advocated their claims, and the claims of every question, honest and true and liberal, with an eloquence and ability and a power of argument of which East Indians may well be proud. Dr. John Grant, a journalist of no inconsiderable ability, the first editor of the *Government Gazette*, said of the *East Indian*, "that whatever differences of opinion existed among his (Derozio's) contemporaries as to the mode of conducting it, there could be none whatever as to the talents, the perfect honesty and the unfettered views of the editor. Into this venture, the *East Indian*, he poured the little fortune of the family. The expenses which he incurred in establishing the paper, in the typographical improvements which he introduced, and in equipping the office of the *East Indian*, at No. 9, Cossitollah (now No. 11, Bentinck Street,) with every facility for the executing of printing in all its branches, swallowed up the little capital Derozio had at his disposal." On through the closing months of his life, he laboured in the printing office and the editorial chair and on the public platform, with an energy, a devotion and an ability which, had he never achieved anything else, would have marked him off as no ordinary man. He was the chief speaker at a meeting of East Indians held in the Town Hall on the first of July 1831, for the purpose of approving the draft of their *second*

petition to Parliament. J. W. Ricketts occupied the chair. About 150 East Indians were present, as well as a number of Hindus, who took a warm interest in the proceedings. We subjoin a summary of Derozio's speech on the occasion gathered from the *India Gazette* of Wednesday, August 3rd, 1831 :—Mr. H. L. V. Derozio stated, that before proceeding to the rejection or adoption of the draft of the second petition, he would make a few remarks, on the misstatements and misapprehensions that had gone abroad regarding the views entertained by East Indians, of their disabilities. Their grievances were of two kinds, political and legal ; but it had been said that they were seeking for privileges to which Europeans and Hindus and Mahomedans were ineligible. The petition stated that they were without any Code of Civil Law. He did not know of any case in corroboration, but would not allow his want of information on this point to be conclusive against it. Judging from the law itself, the argument was certainly in their favour and nothing could be thrown into the opposite scale but prevalent practice, which a single decision would in a moment overthrow. The law, whatever the practice, was unsuited to their condition, for it regarded them as Hindus and Mahomedans; but in what did they assimilate? Their conduct, habits, thoughts, usages and feelings were totally dissimilar, and was it to be said in the nineteenth century, that in legislating for a whole body it could be just to place them under laws totally unsuited to their circumstances. It surely could not be considered a great privilege to be placed under British Law. Let the many who had been ruined in the Supreme Court speak their sentiments ; for, bad as it was, it was better than the jumble of Hindu and Mahomedan Law to which they were subject, the moment they crossed the Maharatta Ditch. One great evil arising from this state of the law was, that the greater portion of the East Indians, located as they were in Calcutta, had not the means of acquainting themselves with that law, to which they became subject, when they passed its boundaries. He here mentioned as a case in point. An East Indian gentleman who had been educated in England, having returned to his native land, and while ignorant of the laws to which he was subject, was, through the subornation of perjured witnesses against him, thrown into one of the zillah jails for a period of two years. This was an evil of great magnitude, and the circumstance were such as no European could be placed under. It had been said with regard to the legal and political privileges which they claimed that, if admitted into the civil and military services, they would on this point have advantages over what are permitted to the Hindus and Mahomedans, and at the same time would be entitled to hold lands in the interior which

Europeans were prevented from doing. The admission of East Indians to certain rights did not preclude the possibility of other classes of the population also securing for themselves the privileges to which they were entitled. If East Indians were permitted to enjoy all the privileges they now seek, it would be impossible to withhold the claims of others. Their enemies had tried to set both the European and Native community against them by saying that they sought exclusive privileges, well knowing that if they once entered the breach, there would be many to follow. He denied that they had assembled to claim such exclusive privileges. They were in reality fighting the battle of the whole community, Native, European and East Indian. Derozio then took a view of the arguments against them which stated that the men of talent and influence of their own class, not only refrained from joining in their proceedings, but were opposed to them. How was this known? he asked. The men themselves did not state it; and if the present measures were disapproved of, why were they not here present, to state their sentiments. They had talent to reason on the subject, or at any rate had sufficient to understand what might be advanced in opposition. He found that they had the talent of staying at home, but that was not a distinction that he or those present were ambitious of. With all their influence and mental powers, let them only propose to get up a meeting opposed to the views of the present, and they would, to their mortification, find a beggarly array of East Indians. They had talent enough to send an agent to England, and had influence to cause an interesting debate in Parliament on the subject of their claims; and if this were want of talents and influence, they could do very well without the talent and influence that stayed at home and did nothing. Derozio then depicted the consequences of losing the present opportunity; and the responsibility resting on them to secure for their posterity all the advantages and privileges possible. He expressed high hopes for the new ministry, and believed that the introduction of the Reform Bill was but the preliminary step to the introduction of more important reforms. This argued well for East Indians, for they had not now to deal with ignorant and partial men. He advised them to continue to present their claims; success invited them forward and hope cheered the way. Did they fear to rise in the scale of political importance, to be considered worthy of confidence and honour, to be placed under a definite code of laws, and to gain for their children rights and privileges which had not descended from their fathers to themselves? And he concluded a brilliant and most effective speech by moving the adoption of the  
aft petition.



His friend Pote seconded the resolution, and Drummond of Dhurruntollah, his old master, wasted with illness, rose to point out that the definitions of the petition were not sufficiently clear; and that the petitioners were really Christians born in India. Derozio overruled the objection by pointing out that clauses 1 and 2 of the petition were explicit enough. The petition was approved. Some discussion then followed as to sending a delegate to England, and the names of Ricketts and Pote were presented to the meeting. Ricketts was willing to go; but he said that it would entail the loss of his appointment. Pote generously would not hear of this and himself offered to go. On the vote being taken, 48 only voted, Ricketts 33, Pote 15, the others thinking it premature till sufficient funds had been got together to clear expenses. The other speakers at the meeting were Crowe, W. Kirkpatrick, W. R. Fenwick, Mr. Wollaston and H. Andrews. The latter gentleman is still alive and evinces the same warm interest in every measure of usefulness which distinguished him fifty years ago. The second petition was transmitted to Mr. John Crawford in England for presentation to Parliament, but, owing to a change of ministry and other causes, so far as we know, it was never presented. The petition will be new to men of this generation at least, and as besides it bears the touch of Derozio's hand, we reproduce it here :—

THE

EAST INDIANS'

## SECOND PETITION.

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*Calcutta, June 27, 1831.*

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M. L'BLANC, PRINTER.—EAST INDIAN OFFICE.

## THE EAST INDIAN'S SECOND PETITION.

*To the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, the Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of Calcutta and the Provinces comprised within the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.*

## HUMBLY SHOWETH,

1st.—That your Petitioners are natives of, and residents in, British India; Christians in religion; and acknowledging subjection to the Crown of Great Britain; but labouring under certain grievances which they desire to bring under the notice of your Honorable House in the hope of being relieved from them.

2nd.—That your petitioners consist;—first, of those, or of the descendants of those, who have been born out of wedlock, of native mothers, and who, although of Christian fathers, and united with Christians in faith, in language, in habits, in manners, in feelings, and in opinions, are yet regarded in the eye of the law as without the pale of Christianity. Secondly, that your Petitioners consist of those, or of the descendants of those, who, though of native descent (some entirely, and some partially) and born in wedlock, profess the Christian religion, and are assimilated to Christians by education, feelings, manners, and opinions, but are in like manner regarded by the law as aliens to the Christian Faith.

3rd.—That in conformity with the general tenor of Parliamentary enactments relating to India, professors of the Hindoo religion are governed in their civil relations by Hindoo law, professors of the Mahummudan religion by Mahummudan law, and both Hindoos and Mahummudans are subject, in criminal matters, to Mahummudan law; Hindoo and Mahummudan law, both civil and criminal, being modified by the rules and regulations of the East India Company; while those persons only whom the British Legislature have described as British subjects, or whom the administrators of the law interpret to be so described, enjoy the advantages of the law of England, as extended by statutes to British India.

4th.—That by the rigid interpretation which successive Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William have given to the phrase "British subjects," as equivalent to "*British-born* subjects," your Petitioners, although neither Hindoos nor Mahummudans, but Christians in their feelings and principles, habits and associations, are entirely excluded when resident in the Interior from the benefits of the law of England.

5th.—That the effect of the position in which your Petitioners are thus placed is to subject them, although Christians, along with

the professors of the Hindoo and Mahummudan religions to Mahummudan criminal law, which (whatever modifications that law may have undergone by the Company's Regulations, is abhorrent to their feelings and degrading to their characters, as contradicting them from their Christian brethren.

6th.—That a further effect of the position in which your Petitioners are placed by the state of the law, or the interpretation given to it, is that in the civil relations of life they have no law whatever for their guidance. Not being Hindoos, they cannot regulate those relations by Hindoo law. Not being Mahummudans they cannot regulate them by Mahummudan law. And not being British-born subjects they cannot enjoy the advantages of the law of England. Your Petitioners, being without any written law binding upon them in the most important relations of life, are therefore dependent upon what any judge may consider the practice with regard to them in those relations. This leaves them so much in the hands, and at the discretion, of the Ministers of Justice, that they respectfully solicit from your Honorable House that consideration to this particular which its importance demands.

7th.—That your Petitioners are systematically, and as a class, excluded from all superior and covenanted offices in the Civil and Military Services, and from all sworn offices in the Marine Service, of the East India Company; and that on the notification of the appointment of any one who may be then residing in India, they have been stigmatized as a body by a provision publicly announced in the Gazette of Government, that the appointment shall not be valid if the individual appointed be "the son of a native Indian."

8th.—That your Petitioners as a class are further systematically treated as ineligible to most of those subordinate employments in the Judicial, Revenue, and Police Departments, which are open without reserve to the Hindoo and Mahummudan natives of the country.

9th.—That by a General Order dated the 27th February 1808, of the Commander-in-Chief for the time being of his Majesty's Forces in India, they were as a class expressly declared, and are still practically considered to be, disqualified from holding his Majesty's Commission in the British Indian Army.

10th.—That by stipulations in treaties with the powers of India, which still preserve a shadow of independence, your Petitioners, though regarded as natives of India, are practically debarred from engaging in their service in any capacity, without the special license of the Supreme Government of India.

11th.—That the spirit of the entire policy of the East India Company's Government towards your Petitioners has been, and

is, degrading, invidious, and proscriptive; and that instead of encouraging, they have discouraged, every attempt made by your Petitioners to improve their own condition and that of their offspring.

12th.—That your Petitioners respectfully refer to the evidence given before the Select Committee appointed by the last Parliament to inquire into the affair of India, in corroboration and proof of their allegations; and they confidently solicit from your Honorable House, a thorough consideration of the grievances herein brought to notice and relief from their future operation.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

Next month, September 1831, there occurred that "passage at arms" between Derozio and Captain Macnaghten already referred to. There remained for Derozio but one more public appearance, and, singularly enough, that was at the examination of the pupils of the Doveton College, an institution founded by his friend J. W. Ricketts, and the history of which has been told in this *Review* by Dr. George Smith, its second Principal (see vol. XXIV. page 288) and by the present writer in the April number of 1881. On the Tuesday of December 13th, 1831, eleven days before his death, Derozio took part with Mr. Speed of the Hindoo School in examining the classes. There were present the usual concourse of parents and friends; and of clergymen there were gathered, Messrs. Dealtry, Yates, McPherson, Piffard and notably Duff. On the conclusion of the examination, Derozio, with the warm impulsiveness of his own nature, though he was weighted with an amount of work and care under which many ordinary men would wince and sink, declared his intentions of delivering a course of lectures on Law and Political Economy, with a view of qualifying the Doveton pupils to avail themselves of the judicial situations which had so recently been opened to East Indians. These lectures were never delivered. Eleven days after, the grave closed on the brilliant lad; and there was quenched one of the most hopeful lives. It is beyond question that, had the lectures been delivered, they would have gathered round Derozio in the Doveton, spirits as earnest, unselfish and noble as those which characterised his connection with the Hindoo College.

In *The East Indian* of Saturday, 17th December, there appears a report of the examination of the pupils of the Dhurumtollah Academy. This notice contains the last lines written for the *East Indian* by Derozio. After commenting on the excellence of the examination passed by the boys, the notice goes on to say that, "the most pleasing feature in this institution is its freedom from illiberality. At some of the Calcutta schools, objections are made to natives, not so much on the part of the masters as of the Christian parents. At the Dhurumtollah Academy, it is quite delightful to witness the exertions of Hindu and Christian youths, striving

together for academic honours. This will do much towards softening asperities, which always arise in hostile sects ; and when the Hindu and Christian have learned from mutual intercourse, how much there is to be admired in the human character, without reference to differences of opinion in religious matters, shall we be brought nearer than we now are, to that happy condition when

“ Man to man the world o’er,  
Shall brothers be and a’ that.”

To those parents who object to the bringing up of their children among native youths, we desire to represent the suicidal nature of their conduct. Can they check the progress of knowledge at certain schools, can they close the gates of the Hindu College and other institutions ? If not, is it not obvious, that they cannot withhold knowledge from Hindu youths, and if they manifest illiberal feeling towards those youths, are they not afraid of a reaction ? In a few years, the Hindus will take their stand by the best and the proudest Christians ; and it cannot be desirable to excite the feelings of the former against the latter. The East Indians complain of suffering from proscription, is it for them to proscribe ? Suffering should teach us not to make others suffer. Is it to produce a different effect on East Indians ? We hope not. They will find after all, that it is their best interest, to unite and co-operate with the other native inhabitants of India. Any other course will subject them to greater opposition than they have at present. Can they afford to make more enemies ?

The clear, far-seeing wisdom of these, the last public words of the greatest Eurasian in many respects that has ever shed lustre on his race, and the broad charity and toleration which they exhibit, clearly mark him off as not only much in advance of the men of his own day, but far ahead in wide sympathy and true liberality even of the men of to-day. Eurasians have, from their earliest existence as a community, declined to have their sons educated side by side with the native lads of India, for moral and religious reasons which in our estimation have been unduly intensified and needlessly persisted in, to their own hurt. The words of Derozio may well ring in the ears of this generation and rouse them to a consciousness of their past unwisdom :—“ In a few years, the Hindus will take their stand by the side of the best and the proudest Christians.” How complete a fulfilment of Derozio’s words is the present condition of Eurasian youths, ousted from the lower grades of Government Service by native lads ; and competing with them in higher education and in the attainment of that rank which the impress of a University degree marks on scholarship, with all the advantages of heavily subsidised Government Colleges thrown into the

scale on the side of the natives. "The East Indians complain of suffering from proscription, is it for them to proscribe?" Eurasians have suffered from the effects of that proscription which Derozio, a man of their own race, their truest friend and their ablest advocate, pointed out fifty years ago and counselled them, that "suffering should teach them not to make others suffer." Derozio's advice was not followed, and the Eurasians of to-day are reaping the folly of their fathers' sowing.

We have quoted Derozio's last public appeal to Eurasians. Probably, the last poem he wrote, is one which did not appear in print till the January of 1832, after his death, when it appeared, along with other contributions of East Indians, in the *Orient Pearl*, an annual, the volume being "inscribed to Sir Charles Metcalfe as a testimony of the esteem of the editors for his enlightened views and liberal policy." The poem "Independence" is not in the collected edition of his "Poetical works," compiled by Mr. Owen Aratoon, and published by W. Newman & Co. of Calcutta. The verses are not in his best style, but as they breathe some far away echo of the worry and the fever and the fret through which his manly independence and indomitable spirit rose, we reproduce them here :—

#### INDEPENDENCE.

Look on that lamp which seems to glide,  
Like a spirit o'er the stream,  
Casting upon the darkened tide,  
Its own mysterious beam.

My heart,—and shall that little lamp  
My glorious image be ;  
Shall the night so mirk, the stream so damp  
Be lit and cheered by thee ?

Lo ! in the breath of the tyrant wind  
The trembling flame looks wan  
And pale, as if fear had seized its mind ;  
It fades, alas, tis gone.

And wilt thou tremble so, my heart,  
When the mighty breathe on thee ?  
And shall thy light, like this depart ?  
Away ! it cannot be.

In the autumn of 1831 an unusually high rate of mortality prevailed in Calcutta and its suburbs, the chief causes of death being cholera, dysentery and fever. In the village of Baraset near Barrackpore, whole families had been swept away ; and in the villages in the vicinity of Bowanipore, nearly a third of the inhabitants had died. In the villages between the Salt Lake and Calcutta the mortality was not less great. Every day during November, there were carried to Kali-ghaut about fifty

dead bodies ; and to the neighbouring ghauts about half that number. On the Diamond Harbour road a family of ten men were carried off in a few days, leaving only the widows. Every where in Calcutta and its neighbourhood cholera was prevalent ; and nearly every case proved fatal. On Saturday, December 17th, 1831, the day on which there appeared in the *East Indian* the notice already referred to, of the examination of the pupils of the school in which Derozio received all the education schools could ever give him, he was stricken with cholera : and for six days he struggled with the disease, till the bitter ending came in death. There crowded round his sick bed, not terrified by the ravages of cholera, but rising above the fear of contagion, the pupil-friends of the Hindu College. All through the sleepless, weary, painful nights and days, there watched the sick-bed of the dying Derozio, Krishna Mohun Banerjee, Ramgopal Ghose, Mohes Chunder Ghose, and others, sharing the anxiety and fatigue of Derozio's mother and his sister, Amelia. Dr. John Grant, the man of all men who first recognized Derozio's brilliant capacity, who rocked the cradle of his genius, and followed to the grave his hearse, was in constant attendance ; and when some hopes were entertained that the splendid constitution of the dying lad would withstand the ravages of the disease, the doctor's melodious voice rose in the sick chamber, reading to the East Indian boy, the second book of Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*. The pleasures of hope were very brief. Racked with pain that filled the room with low moaning, worn out by sleepless days and nights and the violence of cholera-morbus, on Saturday, the 23rd December 1831, the weary eyes closed in death ; and there disappeared from the great river of this mortal life, one of the most brilliant morning-lights that ever sailed adown its stream. For him, as for all true men, death had no fear, however much they hate it, gate though it be to life, "the gloomy entrance to a sunnier world." This is how Derozio sings of death and fate and man's eternal energy—

Death ! my best friend, if thou doest ope the door,  
 The gloomy entrance to a sunnier world,  
 It boots not when my being's scene is furled,  
 So thou caust aught like vanished bliss restore.  
 I vainly call on thee, for fate the more  
 Her bolts hurls down, as she has ever hurled :  
 And in my war with her, I've felt, and feel  
 Grief's path cut to my heart by misery's steel.  
 But man's eternal energies can make  
 An atmosphere around him, and so take  
 Good out of evil, like the yellow bee,  
 That sucks from flowers malignant, a sweet treasure—  
 O ! tyrant fate ! thus shall I vanquish thee,  
 For out of suffering shall I gather pleasure.

The "poor self-satisfied creatures," as Robert Dick the baker and geologist of Thurso, said of his own detractors, "who make an image of God after their own hearts, and not after the image of their maker," made Derozio's short life and sudden death, the peg on which to hang a homily, to point a theological "moral, and adorn a tale." Atheistic and immoral poet, "subverser of all religious principles whatever" were howled over his grave, by the "unco guid;" and repeated in mocking parrot tones, half a century after his death, by small 'nen, hedged round by a comforting theology of their own. That Derozio thought for himself on all topics, is beyond question. That he could neither subscribe to the unquestioning acceptance of the authority of the Romish Church in matters of faith, to the sacerdotalism of episcopal clergyman, to the fervid evangelicalism of Duff and his admirers, or to the passionless, unhuman theology of Calvin, that would "damn to all eternity" millions of beings who never heard the gospel according to their reading; or who, having heard it, would not, could not accept it, was beyond doubt. With Derozio, as with Sir William Hamilton, Scotch Presbyterian as he was, "Truth, like a torch, the more it's shook it shines," was the moving spring that worked the mechanism of his intellect and life. The death-bed scenes of so-called infidels and atheists are part of the current goody literature that meanders round the "Cottage homes of England." It was not to be expected that so independent a thinker as Derozio should go to his grave without a death-bed scene in which the convictions of a life-time are represented as giving place to a hearty and full acceptance of verities about which, however much may be believed, little positively may be known. That Mr. Hill, the Congregational Minister, visited Derozio the Sunday before his death, that is on the second day of his illness, and that he, as well as J. W. Ricketts and others, spoke earnestly to the dying lad, regarding the unseen realities that lie beyond the grave, was only natural and Christian like; but that Derozio died in any other faith than that in which he lived, that is, a child-like confidence in the great loving spirit that formed his spirit, and "confessed that he was a Christian, and that he died a believer in the faith of Christ," is a statement which takes for granted that he lived and thought during his short life, in antagonism to the teachings of Christ as he understood these. This conclusion, we venture to think, cannot be accepted, notwithstanding the statements that have been made regarding what passed between both Hill, J. W. Ricketts and Derozio; one of these statements going the length of asserting that a written recantation of infidelity, and a full avowal of Christianity, as these gentlemen and their Church understood it, was produced



and signed on his death-bed. If such a document ever existed, it was never exhibited to his closest friends, nor shown to those most likely to be made aware of its existence, viz., the student friends that continually sought his society and lingered round his dying bed. They knew nothing of this confession; and though his bed was closely watched by one or other of them, day and night, no clergyman or friend, with a story of confession or recantation, was ever seen by them, much less any written document to that effect, bearing the signature of Derozio. The whole story seems to have arisen from the laudable anxiety of some of his friends, to get from him some more definite avowal of religious convictions than he ever could see his way to formulate during his life; and in the course of conversation, no doubt, Derozio expressed himself, as in his calmer and more serious moments he would have done, in such a way as seemed to those anxious for his "soul's welfare," to warrant them in declaring that Derozio had died in the faith of Christ. Derozio lived in the faith and spirit of Christ, as he understood that faith and life; and in no other faith could he live or die. That he read the life and teaching of Christ differently from others, that he set his foot firmly down against dogmatizing, against hypocrisy, against all ill, moral and intellectual, and dared to differ from his fellows and seek for truth with a fearless chivalry, a loving charity, and an undogmatizing modesty, was the head and front of his offending. He suffered the penalty of all who dare think for themselves; and bigots and fanatics and the well-meaning men who require to have companionship and the assurance of conviction which the authority of others carries with it in religious matters, branded him an infidel.

Of few men may it be said more fitly than of Derozio, "Here lies one who never feared the face of man," who sought for truth, faithfully, fearlessly and with all diligence, chivalry and charity, and, after searching for it here awhile, "went to find it in another world;" who, during the short morning glow of his brief life, worked diligently to elevate the intellect and purify the life of all his pupils, and who spared neither care, nor toil, nor sacrifice, to raise the native people of India, and the men of his own race, to a social, moral, intellectual and political position, which one day sooner or later they shall attain.

There is one lesson from Derozio's life which Eurasians may well con and lay to heart. With no other education than that which a Calcutta adventure school, fifty years ago, could give him, he began earning his own living and supporting his mother, sister and brother, after his father's death, at an age when most lads

are "cramming" for examinations, and treading on each other's feet in their eagerness to enter some of the grades of Government service. Derozio's genius and high natural abilities were accompanied by that tenacity of purpose, that steady application to work, and that determination to make one's way, without which, genius and ability are merely marsh lights, to lure their possessors to uselessness and ruin. The advantages which the training of a university course bestow are not by any means to be ignored or despised ; and when a training of this sort is compatible with the means and future prospects of lads, it would be the highest folly to withhold it. But when neither the present means, nor the future prospects of a family, warrant the outlay on an expensive education, which at the end of it leaves its possessor, not in the position to supply a demand for his labour, but in that of a competitor, one among many, with native lads as highly educated, and able to supply the demand for this kind of labour at a much cheaper rate, and Eurasians find themselves, at the end of an expensive education, little better fitted to earn a living than at a much earlier stage in their lives, it seems high time to use the years spent in College and which lead to little, in many of these cases, to the acquirement of some trade or handicraft which would render it unnecessary to import so largely as at present skilled European labour. As long as this remains undone, skilled European workers will continue to be brought to India, to settle here and to leave their children to intensify the difficulties that are gathering round domiciled Europeans in India.

Tributes to the memory and the worth of Derozio were not wanting.

We reproduce two. One appeared in a supplement to the *Government Gazette* of Thursday, December 29th, 1830, and the other in the *Samachar Durpun* :—

"There are," said the *Government Gazette*, "we feel assured, many of our readers who share our feelings of sincere concern at the premature death of H. Derozio. When we look back but a few brief years, and remember the intelligent and animated East Indian boy, that gave such indubitable promise of something more than commonplace talent, when we reflect on the formidable disadvantages he had to contend with, and the elasticity and success with which he bore up against them, so as to make for himself a name, our regret for departed genius is mingled with admiration at its buoyant energy. Destined to terminate his short career when others are but commencing theirs, he nevertheless lived long enough to acquire a reputation that is not likely to perish ; and that is honourably associated with

literature, and the moral, social and political improvement of his countrymen. . . . His works evinced a vigour of thought, an originality of conception, a play of fancy and a delicacy of tone, which occasioned the more surprise when the reader came to know that the author was an East Indian boy whose peregrinations had never extended beyond Bengal, and whose *Alma Mater* had been a Calcutta School. In 1827 his published poems attracted the notice and excited the applause of a section of the London Press. Ever since, his name has been before the public, either as a contributor to various literary works, or as the able and independent editor of a newspaper. Of a diligent and active turn, he was not a youth that could sit down and eat the bread of idleness ; nor had he any false fastidiousness as to the sphere in which he could usefully exert his talents. Our youthful poet became a teacher in the Hindu College. It certainly, one would imagine, was not the situation a young and ardent mind like his would choose, had he a variety of choice. This, however, he had not—and he accordingly entered with alacrity and zeal upon his new duties. . . . The Fakcer of Jungheera evinces an extraordinary command of language and an acute perception of the beauty of nature and those idealities which form for the poet a world of his own. Of felicity of thought, no less than the expression of that sympathy which the poetic mind holds with the world, visible and invisible, a *Walk by Moonlight*, published two or three weeks before his death, furnishes an example."

"That the interest which he took in the progress of his pupils was as deep as it was generous, and independent of all selfish motives, is sufficiently evident, were there no other proof of it, than the beautiful sonnet addressed to the students of the Hindu College, which he published in the Bengal Annual, 1831. Circumstances impelled Mr. Derozio to resign the situation he held at the Hindu College. Thus thrown on his own resources, he established the *East Indian Newspaper*, which, however other differences of opinion exist among his contemporaries as to the mode of conducting it, there could be none whatever, as to the talents, the perfect honesty, and the unfettered views of the editor. The labour of conducting a daily paper in India must be obvious. Elastic and buoyant as was the character of Henry Derozio's mind, it could scarcely be expected, that the constant tension of faculties, caused by his connection with a daily paper of peculiar views, and the organ of a class, no less than his anxiety on other points, not necessary to be dilated on here, and perhaps disappointment of some of those hopes to which the aspiring child of genius is more especially subject, it is, we say, scarcely surprising, that those should have affected his frame to a degree that he himself was

probably not aware of. To these may also be added, a feeling of mortification at having been misconceived in his views, even when his intentions were the most single-hearted, and devoted to what he considered the right. Youth, and the consciousness of elastic and original powers of mind are apt to lead their possessor into some imprudence, and that he should have his share of the rashness, and impetuosity of both united was but natural. Now that he is low, his friends may aver with pride, that if his speculations were not always conclusive, or his inferences legitimately formed, his moral character was irreproachable, his devotion to the spirit of what he deemed truth, even romantically uncompromising, his intentions good and his conduct as a son, a brother and friend, and a member of society, which it was his dearest wish to elevate and improve—such as to reflect credit on his memory, and to make his death lamented by an extensive circle of friends and acquaintances.”

Here is how the Serampore paper, the *Sumachar Durpan*, already referred to, notices the death of Derozio:—“With feelings of unfeigned grief we notice the death of Mr. Derozio, the editor of the *East Indian*, and formerly one of the teachers of the Hindu College. We learn, that about a week before his death he was attacked with cholera, and recovered from the stroke; but afterwards lingered to the period of his lamented death.”

“Among his own countrymen, Mr. Derozio occupied the first rank as a man of talent. At a very early age he produced poetry of no ordinary character, which secured the admiration of all the lovers of the art in this country, and gained him the suffrage of many eminent men in England. While in the Hindu College he laboured to instil into the minds of the youth under his care, the true principles of science; and to lead them to think for themselves. The result of his tuition has been that the students brought up under it are vastly superior in acquirements to their fellow-countrymen; that body of enlightened youth form a monument by which he will long be remembered in Calcutta. To no individual is the country under greater obligations for the impulse which has been given to the native mind, than to Mr. Derozio. If any proof be needed of this, it may be found in the perpetual abuse heaped on him by some of the native papers of this Presidency, foes to every improvement.

“Thus, at the early age of 21, has this highly-gifted young man been cut off, in the midst of a career of great usefulness, and just as he was about to reap the fruit of his arduous labours in the establishment of his journal. His abilities were great, and his ideas respecting public interests were generally just. On some subjects, particularly those of the most solemn importance to

man, it was feared that his high talents and the natural impetuosity of youth had hurried him into speculations which more profound enquiry might have corrected. We therefore lament his death most deeply, because, from the cause just mentioned, he never accomplished half the real good which might have been hoped for from one so richly endowed."

This high testimony to Derozio's ability and worth is all the more remarkable, coming as it did from a journal conducted by the Missionaries of Serampore, and edited by Mr. Marshman (See Asiatic Journal, Vol. VIII, pages 79 and 133, Asiatic Intelligence)

On the 30th of December 1831, the following advertisement appeared in the *India Gazette* :—

"Encouraged by my friends and most of the East Indian community to publish the memoir of my late brother Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, I bring myself before the public and solicit their patronage to the above work."

AMELIA DEROZIO.

This memoir never saw the light ; misfortune was closing round the mother and sister of Derozio, and how bravely they met it, may be learned from the following advertisement which appeared in the same paper for a number of days :—

"Private Tuition, Circular Road, Calcutta. In consequence of the lamented and untimely death of her son Henry, Mrs. Derozio thus early publishes her intentions without delay. She purposes receiving under her roof a few young ladies and instructing them in the following branches :—English and French, Reading and Writing, Geography, History, Arithmetic, the Elements of Mathematics and Physical Science, Needlework and Domestic Economy. As Mrs. Derozio has enjoyed the benefit of the best education in England, and as she will be assisted in the duties of teaching by a very competent individual, she hopes to afford every satisfaction to the parents and guardians of the children entrusted to her care. Being also anxious to give to female education a higher character than it has hitherto possessed in India, it will be her aim to realize that object to the best of her ability. Every possible attention will be paid to the health and morals of the young ladies. Music, dancing, and drawing at the usual charges."

We add another advertisement from the newspapers of December 29th and following dates, containing an appeal to the community to continue to support the *East Indian* :—

"The great expenditure of money that has been incurred by the late proprietor (H. Derozio) in establishing this paper, and in its

typographical improvements, lately effected, will be wholly lost to his family if the paper is not continued. With the experience of some months to guide us, it is almost superfluous to insist upon the necessity of maintaining a paper which has the interests of the East Indian community in view. Individuals are too often blind to their own interests, and still more so to the general interests of the community. We would appeal to the shame that will follow, if the East Indians should be found unwilling to support their own cause. We have a confidence that the tear of sorrow and the tribute of respect which they have paid at the grave of their departed friend, will be followed by substantial service for all the trouble, toil, care and sacrifice, which have been endured in their service by the lamented editor of the *East Indian*."

A meeting of the friends and admirers of Derozio for the purpose of erecting some suitable monument to his memory is thus noticed in the *India Gazette* of January 7th, 1832 :—

#### MONUMENT TO MR. DEROZIO.

At a meeting held on Thursday evening, the 5th January 1832, at the Parental Academy (now Doveton College), to consider the propriety of erecting a monument to the memory of the late Mr. H. L. V. Derozio, J. W. Ricketts, Esq., in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously passed :—

1st.—Moved by Mr. W. Kirkpatrick, and seconded by Mr. M. Crowe —

That this meeting is desirous of recording its sense of the loss which our community has recently sustained by the death of Mr. H. L. V. Derozio, whose short but brilliant career of public usefulness has left a chasm in our ranks not easily to be filled up.

2nd.—Moved by Baboo Mohesh Chunder Ghose, and seconded by Mr. Wale Byrne—

That a stone monument, bearing an appropriate inscription, be erected by public subscription to the late Mr. Derozio, as a testimony of our esteem for the memory of one whose loss we have so much reason to deplore.

3rd.—Moved by Mr. J. A. Lorimer, and seconded by Baboo Krishna Mohun Banerjee.

That a committee consisting of the following gentlemen :— Messrs. Wale Byrn, A. DeSouza, W. R. Fenwick, D. Hare, D. M. King, W. Kirkpatrick, J. W. Ricketts, J. Welsh, and Baboos Dukhinanunda Mookerjee, and Krishna Mohun Banerjee, be appointed to carry the foregoing resolutions into effect ; and that Mr. W. R. Fenwick be requested to officiate as Secretary to the committee.

4th.—Moved by Mr. L. Frazer, and seconded by Mr. J. A. Lorimer—

That any surplus that may be left from the subscriptions raised on account of the monument be tendered to the family of the late Mr. Derozio.

Subscription books were handed round, and donations to the amount of Rs. 900 were entered.

On a letter being read by Mr. Byrn from Mr. Stapleton, offering to publish a lithographic miniature of Mr. Derozio without any remuneration for his labours.

5th.—Moved by Baboo Krishna Mohun Banerjee, and seconded by Mr. R. Dias—

That Mr. Stapleton's proposals be accepted, and a miniature of Mr. Derozio be published with the consent of his family; and that the thanks of the meeting be presented to Mr. Stapleton for his disinterested offer. Votes of thanks for the use of the Hall and to the Chair closed the meeting.

School, newspaper, and monument all came to nothing! A person of little moral worth and some pretensions to literary skill obtained the direction and management of the *East Indian*, and the confidence of Derozio's mother. This person, who has been characterised as little better than a "European loafer," speedily brought the paper to ruin, and, with it, Amelia and her mother. Everything was sold off; and the mother and sister of Derozio at this point disappeared from mortal ken. Amelia appears again once only. Some years afterwards she was accidentally met at Scrampore by Krishna Mohun Banerjee. Then she was married. Since then the family have disappeared. Are any members yet in existence? Are any of Derozio's books, letters, or manuscripts still available to throw some light on his life and work?

The movement to erect a monument to his memory and worth, inaugurated in the Hall of the Doveton College, at which two of his best loved friends, Krishna Mohun Banerjee and Mohesh Chunder Ghose, spoke in feeling terms of their dead master, and Kirkpatrick and others who, in the merry days of long ago, had sported with him on the green, and Ricketts who had stood side by side with him on the platforms of public meetings, rousing Eurasians to an assertion of their rights, and Fenwick and Crowe, who had supported him in the heavy task of editing and managing the *East Indian*, all paid tributes to his memory, came to an ignominious ending. Fenwick, the man entrusted with the money, Rs. 900, raised on the day of the meeting, and whatever other sums he afterwards collected from Native, Eurasian and European friends, got into deep waters in money matters; and, probably believing that his embarrassments were

only temporarily, appropriated the whole of the subscriptions of the Derozio Memorial. Derozio's native friends were disgusted, and Eurasians made no motion. The keen feelings of regret worked by Derozio's death, died away; the men that knew him, went to join him, in another world; and a generation has arisen who know him not. It may not be yet too late to place somewhere, either over his grave, or, better still, on the walls of the Presidency College library, some simple memorial of his life and work; and there are surely men of his own race for whom he has done so much, over whom, as we have said, he has cast the glow of his genius, and exhibited in a remarkable manner the heights to which they may aspire and may attain, there are surely native gentlemen, themselves educated at the Hindu College, and who, together with their sons, are reaping the fruits of Derozio's sowing, who will gladly aid in erecting a modest memorial to the lad who fifty years ago in poetry, philosophy, and journalism, in the school-room, on the platform, and in the social circle, exhibited a genius and a public worth, which has too long remained unacknowledged.

In stature Derozio was rather below the middle height, always neatly, if somewhat foppishly dressed. His colour was nearly as dark as that of the darkest native. A frank, pleasing smile was the usual expression of a face round and chubby as a boy's, out of which shone the great brown, glowing eyes, that usually indicated the possession of acute feelings and imagination. His hair was long, black, inclined to curl, and parted in the middle. Mr. Owen Aratoon has a small photograph taken from the lithographic miniature published by Mr. Stapleton, which represents Derozio as dressed in the high-collared dress coat of his day, and his neck swathed in the white neck-cloth, fashionable in the days of our grandfathers. We have already noted his singularly winning manner. His frankness and cordiality, and the whole charm of his presence and conversation, drew men to him, and those who might be inclined, on a first acquaintance, to laugh or sneer at his foppishness and conceit, were speedily won over to admire the brilliant boy, whose vivacity, good humour and acuteness, charmed even strangers. Derozio was conscious of his own powers; and it is no wonder that an element of conceit was discernible in his character. He had something to be conceited about. The reception his poems met with from the press of India and England, the crowded audiences that listened to his lectures, the patronage and friendship of such men as Dr. John Grant, H. M. Parker—a gentleman occupying a high position in the Revenue Department, and moving in the highest circle of European society in Calcutta, a man of culture and no mean poetic order, as evidence-



ed in his "*Draught of Immortality*"—no dinner party given by Mr. Parker was complete without Derozio—and the accomplished principal of the Hindu College, D. L. Richardson, and others who might be mentioned, all these would have turned the head of most boys of twenty; but to the end of his short life Derozio retained the childlike simplicity of his character. After his death and the abandonment of the contemplated biography by his sister Amelia, Derozio's papers seem to have passed into the hands of Mr. Richardson. Amongst these papers were several short poems since published, notably *Independence* and a second *sonnet* to the students of the Hindu College, not contained in his collected works, and first published in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine*, 1833. There were also a number of letters now apparently lost, and an incomplete translation from the French of M. Pierre Louis Moreau De Maupertuis, on Moral Philosophy. This incomplete translation, three chapters of which were printed after his death in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine* for 1833, along with a short notice of his life and poems, is evidence of this much at least, that Derozio knew sufficient French for all the purposes of a student; and that his knowledge of Philosophy did not embrace the best known authors only, but extended to those whose very names, either in this generation or their own, were and are, quite unknown to the bulk of students of Philosophy. Maupertuis was more a mathematician than a metaphysician, and not much of either, but it is sterling evidence of Derozio's width of reading, that he mastered such an obscure tract on Moral Philosophy as that of Maupertuis. P. L. M. De Maupertuis was born at St. Malo in 1698, and chiefly distinguished himself in advocating the physical theory of Newton against Descartes. He was appointed head of the Academicians who were directed by Louis XV, in the year 1736, to proceed to Lapland and ascertain the exact measurement of a degree of longitude. At the invitation of Frederic II he went to Berlin, as head of the Academy there. Here he engaged in a controversy with Voltaire, in which he was lashed by the incessive wit and satire of his own countrymen, and obliged to retire to France, where he died at Basel in 1759. The first Chapter is occupied with a discussion and definition of happiness and misery. The second is headed—"In ordinary life the sum of evil exceeds that of good;" we transcribe the following passage:—

"What is life? but a continual wish to change its perceptions? it is passed in desires; and we would annihilate all the interval which separates us from their accomplishment. Often would we have days, months and whole years suppressed; and we never acquire any good, without paying for it with our lives. If God

accomplished our desires and suppressed for us all the time which we would have suppressed, the old man would be surprised to see the little that he would have lived: perhaps, the duration of the longest life, would be reduced to a few hours.....

Were the enquiry made we should find very few, from whatever condition they might be taken, who would recommence life as it has been, who would repass through all the states in which it has been. Would not this be the pleasant avowal, that there is more evil than good in life?"

The third Chapter is occupied with "Reflections on the nature of Pleasures and Pains."

We hope to be able to reproduce this translation in full as well as several unedited poems and fragments of Derozio.

THOMAS EDWARDS,

#### ART. IV.—RURAL POLICE AND DECENTRALISATION.

**I**N these days, when Indian administration has become so complicated and so expensive, the difficulty must be met by decentralizing, whether it be by limiting the amount to be spent to a certain assignment, or by assigning nothing, and letting the locality raise all that is needed by local rates and taxes. Roads have already been made a local charge, and some steps might be taken to make police the same. In the course of doing this, if an organisation of self-government could be started, even though at first that organisation were unable to stand alone, a great advance in administrative and political progress would be gained, as well as a means devised of supplementing the State's finances.

Nowhere in India is there such an absence of all village organisation as in Bengal. Consequently, when it is most wanted, as in times of famine, the country has to be flooded with a foreign executive, and an extempore organisation erected at most ruinous cost. It will be the object of this paper to consider whether the defect cannot be cured by introducing an organisation which could be used as a small beginning of local self-government, as a means of raising locally the cost of police charges, and finally, as a most important help to the executive when carrying out extraordinary measures, such as famine relief or census.

It is now five or six years since the present Chowkidari Act was introduced into Bengal, and in spite of the many difficulties experienced in working it, no one disputes that it has produced a great improvement in the condition of the rural police. At present there is some one, at least in most villages, legally and practically responsible for the payment of the chowkidars, namely, the village punches; and they are not only responsible for his pay, but they are his immediate superior authority, to whose notice he must bring all occurrences; and they, in their turn are bound to report his delinquencies, and, if need be, convey to the thannah the information he has failed to give.

The Act was framed in the spirit of making the position of the punch an honourable one, and for this end the magistrate alone is allowed to control them, while the police are denied that power. But unfortunately the magistrate is given no means of mediate communication with, and supervision over them, except the regular police. Hence, necessarily, much recourse has been compelled to be had to the police. It is only through them that new appointments can be made in the case of casualties and retirements; and therefore in their hands rests the important function of selection.

Again, in all the executive measures to enforce payment of the chowkidars and to demand accounts, to decide questions between the punches and the chowkidars, whether chowkidars shall be dismissed, and if so, who shall be appointed, the magistrate must look to them for advice, and that advice must nearly always prevail.

But not only has the present law the fault of compelling the magistrate to use the police to coerce the punches into a performance of their duties of collection, but it provides absolutely no means of superintending that performance. A punch may be keeping no accounts, may be most unfairly assessing the villagers, and may be abusing its authority in many ways; but, except when a scandal arises, calling for magisterial enquiry, things must go on unchecked. Under the present system the magistrate can only say, the punches must pay their chowkidars, but how they manage to do so, he cannot make his concern. He has no organisation given him for this purpose, and he can only look to what is practical. The result of this may be very diverse; a weak punch cannot possibly collect its dues, and the post consequently becomes one of serious pecuniary liability. Each member is scheming to get rid of his office, and those who have nearly the sole power of selecting for the onerous post, and through whose favour exemption at times may be gained, must exercise great authority. Again, a strong punch, composed of high caste men, will throw the burden of the assessment on their poorer fellows and very lightly tax themselves and their friends and relatives.

At present there is no pretence of there being any means either to help the weak punch, or to supervise and correct the conduct of the strong one. Yet the law requires the assessment list to be published annually, and the magistrate is empowered to revise it on the application of ten rate payers. Unfortunately, however, the magistrate has more important work to do than revise assessment lists, and this provision of the law is almost necessarily a dead letter.

Shortly, the defects of the present law seem to be—

1. It does not really secure that the sum assessed is collected, or if collected, that the chowkidar really receives it as wages. The reason of this is that the punch pay the chowkidar direct, and the only proof of payment or non-payment is the word of the chowkidar. Consequently, the temptation to put pressure on the latter to take less than his pay and acknowledge full payment is irresistible. This leads to all kinds of abuses, and frequently to criminal charges.

2. A necessary consequence of the above is that either the chowkidar is too subservient to the punch, or he is at open war with them. Neither state is desirable. For if he is consenting to forego his pay, he is under-paid, and more liable to temptation: if he is

fully alive to his rights, and asserting them, it means often fighting and distraction in the village.

3. The law provides no intermediate agency between the magistrate and the punches. From this discipline often suffers, and the chowkidars are not amenable to the authority of the police. Unless the chowkidar is guilty of an offence punishable by law, it is hard to reach him. Fines can hardly be inflicted, for the order must be to the punch to deduct the amount; and it is more than doubtful if such an order carries anything more with it than a book entry.

4. Lastly, perhaps the greatest defect is that the law makes no provision for the payment of chowkidars in small villages. The houses are too few, or the inhabitants too poor, to pay Rs. 3 a month, and consequently they cannot be brought under the law at all. Again many villages have to be left in their old state, because they are too poor to pay for two Act chowkidars, and one would not be enough.

Now it seems to us that the only difficulty in making the country pay for its police has been surmounted, that is, the difficulty of introducing a general system of raising local rates by direct taxation, and of entrusting the collections to a purely local body. Why not then systematise what is now so full of inequalities, and so fruitful of confusion? Why should not all the chowkidars of the country be brought under the Act, and a thoroughly efficient control given to the authorities over both the chowkidars and the punches? The hesitation to adopt a policy of thoroughness is based on good motives. Government is afraid to subject such a large and important body as the punches represent to strict executive authority, as it would necessarily have to be exercised under present arrangements. If the magistrate had now to control and supervise them, he would have to use a more or less corrupt amlah and police; and the result would be oppression, disgust and even disaffection.

However, does it not savour of the fable of the ostrich hiding his head in the sand, and so thinking himself concealed from his pursuers, when one expects order and good management under the present arrangement, or rather want of it? It is so charmingly simple. Take almost any four or five men of a village, dub them a punch, and tell them, without any outside advice or guidance, to assess and collect a tax from all their fellow-villagers. If they come and bother you and say they can't make their fellows pay, tell them that's their look out; if on the other hand the petition comes from the other side, the answer practically is, you must make the best terms you can; who is to go and enquire into your petty grievances?

For the remedy of the above defects we would propose—

1. That a punch be formed in *every* village, big or small, and that they have much the same powers and responsibilities as at present.

2. That so many villages as entertain some twenty chowkidars be formed into a union, with a circle or union punch of three members.

3. That the magistrate, consulting with the union and circle punches, determine the number of chowkidars to be kept for each village.

4. That the pay of all the chowkidars be made a general charge on the union, and each punch have its allotted share to assess and collect.

5. That the money to be raised in each union be somewhat more than the bare pay of the chowkidars, so as to meet contingent charges of all descriptions.

The administrative head of the union would be one of the members of the union punch. A circle would include some ten villages, and it would nearly always be easy to find a few good men in such an area of selection. The headman should be paid from the union funds, and it would no doubt be necessary to compel a man to serve under a penalty. The term might be the same as that for the village punches—three years, or perhaps two years—so as not to render the retirement of the union punches synchronous with that of the village one. The headman's duties would be purely supervision, and from their nature would prove neither irksome nor distasteful. The village punches would do all the work of collection, and the headman of the union punch would, with his two co-adjutors, be a supervising authority. Upon the headman would devolve all the purely executive work, and the two other members would with him form a consultative body. This headman, or, as he might be called, the tehsildar, would be the pivot of the system. He would receive pay as explained below, and would in return be answerable for the working of all the subordinate village punches. Before going further into his duties, we will examine the financial part of the scheme.

The thannah having been divided into convenient circles, so calculated in size as to require some 20 chowkidars, the exact number actually needed would be budgeted for. Their pay at Rs. 3 each, and a mate at Rs. 4, and a tehsildar at Rs. 5, plus say 10 per cent for contingencies, would form the budget for the union. It might stand thus— $\text{Rs. } 19 \times 3 + 4 + 5 = 66$ . To this Rs. 66 add 10 per cent and we have Rs. 72-8. This then would form the whole budget of the union. The next duty would be to distribute it amongst the villages contained in the union, and in doing this

some local knowledge would undoubtedly be required. The villages where rich people lived would have to pay a large share, and those where poorer people lived a small one. A large and popular village, inhabited by poor people, might require two or three chowkidars, but the neighbouring one, composing perhaps a bazaar and containing the homes of wealthy people, though much smaller, might be assessed much higher. At present there are often most gross inequalities of taxation, but under the proposed plan these should disappear, and with them some of the difficulties of collection.

Each village punch, month by month, would have to hand over its allotted share to the tehsildar; and he, proceeding to the thannah with the united collections, would pay all the chowkidars, and besides hand over the 10 per cent to the police for remittance to the magistrate. This would form a fund to meet chowkidaree contingent expenses, and could also be used toward defraying some part of the expenses of the district police. To give an idea of what the 10 per cent contribution would amount to, let us suppose there are 2,000 chowkidars in a district. Their monthly pay would amount to Rs. 6,100, and consequently 10 per cent on it would give Rs. 610, by no means an insignificant sum monthly.

The two principal objections that might be raised are the entertainment of paid tehsildars and the levy of the 10 per cent. To meet these it can be urged:—that without some such paid functionary the affairs of the punches will ever continue to be mismanaged; and mismanagement means confusion and often oppression. With their help proper and fair assessments can be made, and the money duly collected, and there will be some guarantee that all is not in hopeless confusion, only the weakest being made to pay, while the rich and the refractory are too strong to be compelled to do so. Moreover, the advantage to the general administration of having such men trained to act in general union with the executive will be very great. They will, in a way, be true representatives of the people, and yet there is no reason why they should not be kept strictly up to their duties. These duties will be light and of an honourable kind, and there will be lots of margin to compel strict efficiency without making the post unpopular.

The question might be raised—whether men could be found fit for the post. In our opinion they could, especially in many districts, which are most prosperous, and in which so many men of the middle class have come to the front. Men of all classes might be chosen: retired Government servants, intelligent tradesmen, petty zemindars and such like. To those who know rural Bengal it is wonderful how many

men of character are found, men often held in high esteem by their neighbours, and already voluntarily entrusted by them with authority in all disputes. This is the class of men who should be sought out; and though now and then the people of one village would resent being put under a man who lived out of it, this objection would have to be, and could be, overcome. Hitherto, in trying to develop self-government, the village has been taken as the unit of area. But as a rule this means ignorance, prejudice, and animosity. The people are too close neighbours, have too many ties, and too many points of contact to be autonomous. It will no doubt be a bold step to combine several villages under one corporate body; and often zemindary and caste influences will battle strong against it. But these influences have had their day:—in most parts of the country, either through the infinite sub-division of proprietorship, or through the independence of the ryots, the zemindari power for good or evil is a thing of the past; and in other parts the sooner it is so perhaps the better. Landholders are by the force of events relapsing into private individuals, and the present Chowkidari law is the first step in supplying their place, making the punches responsible for the duties that had always been performed by them. If therefore the duties and responsibilities of the zemindars have already been transferred in great part to the punches, it is surely necessary that these duties should be properly performed. For this end the punches must be supervised; and unless Government takes the step, to which it has shewn so much reluctance, of placing them under the Police, and of thereby destroying what is now so hopeful a germ of self-government, we see no means of compassing the end in view, except in some such way as herein proposed.

To meet the objection against making the punches raise sufficient to pay their Tehsildar, and contribute 10 per cent of their collections, we can only say that with due management we do not believe the payment would be felt or resented. That some one in the neighbourhood was to get the Rs. 5 would be a salve, and if the assessment were well made, and the number of chowkidars slightly reduced, the incidence of taxation would be very little heavier than at present. What little more was required, would probably be taken from petty bunniahs and tradesmen, who have just been relieved from the license tax.

\*There remains the consideration whether the circle Tehsildars could really collect the village assignments monthly, so as to pay the chowkidars punctually. If they could not, it may well be urged that much of the present system is a sham: for if the village punch really pay their chowkidar monthly, they could have no possible objection to making over the money to the circle Tehsildar; and if the chowkidar is not now paid regularly, he would



have a far better chance of being so under the new arrangement. We are sanguine that the better organisation would enable the punch to collect more easily from the villagers; and the mere fact of the regular monthly demand of the Tehsildar, coupled often with his presence, would greatly help to this end. The assessment, too, would be generally more fairly made, and the law of realisation more readily worked.

In working such a system it must occur to one that the regular Police, as now constituted, would be unfit to be entrusted with the duties of supervising the Tehsildars; and yet undoubtedly they would have to intervene, at least to some extent, between them and the magistrate. The affairs of the rural Police must come up through the regular Police, at least in many ways, if not in most. For instance, the thannah must be the head-quarters of the Tehsildars for all financial and many other duties. Could not then a great part of the 10 per cent contribution be used to improve the status of the thannah Police. The pay of the sub-inspectors, Head-constables and munserims might be raised, and the inevitable result would be a general improvement of tone. A sensible and civilised system too of dealing with rural crime would come in with the reorganisation of the rural Police, and there would no longer be that premium on unscrupulous officers, which obtains even to this day. Respectable men, it is hoped, would begin to feel assurance that they could work in the department; and the officer in charge of the thannah might, in course of time, be chosen from the same class which now supplies the subordinate executive service.

Another consideration yet remains; that many indirect advantages might be conferred on the agricultural community by the agency of the circle punches. They would be more or less accredited representatives of the country people, and would undoubtedly soon acquire considerable influence. They could often be used advantageously in suit disputes; and as they would be mostly men with small holdings, they would be particularly representative of the ryots as opposed to the zemindars. By their intervention and help disputes could be better understood, or brought to a close. The membership of an ordinary punch presents no attractions, but rather repels. Hence we have, as a rule, no men occupying that post who can escape it; and, moreover, they are so numerous, and their sphere of action is so confined, that they are of little use administratively, and cannot be expected to emerge from their rustic obscurity. The membership of the circle punch should present at least some attraction, and would probably be much coveted. For it would entail no pecuniary responsibility, and its work would not be generally distasteful.

The appointment of so many respectable men in each thannah to

be Government servants would both afford great assistance to the Police in their legal functions, and at the same time restrain them from many illegal practices. We consider that a body of such men, collected together and consulted on the affairs of their neighbourhood, would be more intelligent and reasonable counsellors than the zemindars of the present day, or any other class of respectable men who are in no way representative and responsible. We are at the same time strongly of opinion that rural Bengal is in a more or less disorganised state, and that now it has been found that zemindars have ceased to be of any administrative use, some definite body of persons should be selected to play the part they were designed to fill. The ordinary village punches have been assigned some of their functions, and we would advocate that this system should now be further developed, by thoroughly organising the village punches, and by efficient and yet popular control.

The other executive uses these circle Tehsildars might be put to are endless. For instance, take the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code for determining whether anything is a nuisance. The law requires a jury to be formed, and the question submitted to their decision. At present, "*pendente lite*," it is nearly impossible to make a fair selection, and often indeed to learn the names of fit persons. Under the Road Cess Act village roads have to be projected and constructed. Here, too, they could be utilised. They might even be made rural sub-registrars, or, if need be, registrars of statistics. If Mahomedans, the post of marriage registrar might be added. They would be depositaries of all local information, and might at any time be made the centres of other organisations.

What the country wants, and Government now, is less development of cutcherry and office, throwing off swarm after swarm of amlah, every one of whom has to be reached and guided by abstruse regulations from above. Even the erection of Municipal Commissioners, Road Cess Committees, and Honorary Magistrates is often but a sorry sham. They well know and feel that a breath can destroy them, as a breath has made;—and they act accordingly. This may be a way to rule a people and collect their taxes, but it is not the best way to develop and educate it, and teach it to rule itself. Not that we would be understood to condemn such appointments as useless. To those officers who will consult and treat respectfully such representatives of the people, they prove of the greatest use, and often prevent the perpetration of egregious blunders. Still we should like to see an administrative officer more in direct contact with the true representatives of the mass of the people. We might not then

have proposed a Rent Bill of a "doctrinaire" type, the passing of which would be nothing but a leap in the dark. Some such organisation as herein suggested would afford a means of learning the people's grievances, not at the mouth of excited mobs, or of a disaffected peasantry, but from men of influence and character, who, while they would be urged to speak out to free themselves and their fellows from wrong and injustice, would also act with moderation on account of their responsible positions. With such a channel of communication with the mass of the ryots, some much milder reform of the rent law might be found a sufficient remedy for the evil of the day; and further measures would develop themselves as occasion and necessity arose. The evils which the new rent law is designed to remedy spring to a great extent from the inherent weakness of the cultivating class; and if the latter are given a legal means of expressing their opinions, and at times, of resisting oppression by organisation, some of these evils will naturally disappear, and others can be met, when suitable, by proper legislation.

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## ART. V.—DEVELOPMENTS.

**I**F there is one principle more than another which seems to dominate the age in which we live, it is that all the phenomena of the physical and social world are the results of slow and gradual development. The materials for building up a history of man after he has become a social being, are being rapidly accumulated. The science of language has enabled us to decide with certainty that European nations are descended from an Aryan stock, which includes the Hindus of the higher classes. Ethnologists declare that the Hindus and Europeans are of the Caucasian type, distinct from the Turanian and the African. The fairy tales of our childhood are seen to possess a family likeness from the Ganges to the Thames, and a comparison of the vestiges of Germanic usage shows them to be identical with the existing customs of the Hindus, while modern European institutions are found to be developments of Aryan germs.

The earliest form of society of which we are cognisant appears to be the patriarchal state. The customs of the Todas in Southern India, where one woman has many husbands, and of some other tribes in India and America, appear to suggest a still earlier form of society; but our knowledge of these customs is so scanty that no general principle can yet be laid down concerning them, and they may be explained as modifications of the patriarchal system caused by outward pressure. The customs of the Ners in Malabar, of confining the inheritance to female children, to the exclusion of the males, is akin to the Toda custom, and might be accounted for on the supposition of a period of society when women were of more importance than men, which would pre-suppose them to be few in number. Another reason is, however, given for this custom. The licentiousness of women is assumed as a primary fact, and the succession is confined to females to make sure that the family property will not be diverted into another line. For instance, A marries B and has issue C, a son, and D, a daughter. C marries E, but her issue may not really be the children of C, but of some favored lover. The family property would, if succession followed the male line, then go to the children of a stranger. This uncertainty is avoided by confining the succession to the female line.

But assuming the patriarchal system to be the earliest, its form seems to have been that of a collection of families with their flocks and herds under the power of a single chief, whose authority was absolute even to the power of life and death over every

member of the community. Under the chief, all were upon a level of equality. To this day among many of the wandering tribes in India, it is impossible to distinguish a servant or slave from the son of the chief. On the death of the patriarch, the manner of filling the vacancy would naturally be by the election of the one most fitted among the members to conduct the little community in its wanderings, to negotiate with other tribes, and who by his personal character would secure the greatest respect from his own men.

The chiefship of the tribe, although naturally an elective office, would in fact often descend to a son or descendant of the late chief, who, being more or less constantly about the person of the chief, would imbibe from him much of the traditional rules for the government of the tribe, and who would thus be marked out as the fittest successor to the office. The office would therefore have a tendency to become hereditary, and we may find traces of the power which the chief gradually assumed to nominate his successor. The manner of doing it was apparently public, and the nomination irrevocable. The same power of the chief survives in the power of the father of the family, or chief of the house, after the tribes have ceased to wander, and have settled down into villages. It is clearly discernible, and is identical with the *patria potestas* of the Romans. The Roman father had power to scourge and to put his son or his slave to death; he could sell his son into slavery, and this practice must have been common, for we find a Roman law enacting that a son who had been sold three times into slavery by his father, was emancipated and freed from his further control. The father could dispose of a daughter in marriage and obtain the bride price; he could provide a wife for his son; he could give the son away for adoption into another family, and the earnings of the son belonged to the father so long as he was under power, that is, as long as his father lived. On the approach of death the father made his will, not in the sense in which we now understand it, but a formal ceremony by which the successor to his powers was nominated. It was not a distribution of property among the several members of the family, but a proceeding by which all the rights and duties vested in the father, as the head of a house, were transferred to a particular person.

Passing from the Romans to the Germans, we find the power of the father thus described as the result of Von Maurer's conclusions—

Maine's *Village Communities*, page 78. "Each family in the township was governed by its own free head, or *paterfamilias*. The precinct of the family dwelling-house could be entered by nobody but himself and those under his *patria potestas*, not even by officers of the law, for he himself made law within and enforced law made without." This inviolability of

the house is reproduced among the Ripuarian Franks, where we find it to be an early usage that, when a legal distress was made upon a man's goods, the householder went through the significant formality of standing at his door with a drawn sword before he made submission. Kemble, in his "Anglo-Saxons," describes the free men as the owners of lands. All others, including their wives and sons, were unfree; their status was that of slaves. The slave was the chattel of his master, and his life could be taken with impunity. A man could sell himself or his children into slavery to avoid starvation.

Early History of Institution, page 60.

"Cæsar plainly found the Celts of the Continent polygamous, living in families held together by stringent paternal power. He, a Roman, familiar with a *patria potestas* as yet undecayed, thinks it worthy of remark, that the head of a Gallic household had the power of life and death over his wives as well as his children, and notices with astonishment that, when a husband died under suspicious circumstances, his wives were treated with the same cruelty as a body of household slaves at Rome, whose master had been killed by an unknown hand."

The power of the head of a Hindu joint family at the present day is singularly like the *patria potestas* of the Romans. It is true he may not put any of the family to death, unless the practice of female infanticide is taken as an indication of a survival of this power, but he may chastise the children, although we can find no authority that he can chastise an adult member of his family. A case, however, is recorded in which a younger brother of about 30 years of age, admitted that his elder brother, who was the head of the family, had a right to beat him, and that it was improper in him to resist. Children could be sold into slavery in times of scarcity, and sons may be given away for adoption into other families. The father must find a wife for his son and a husband for his daughter. The practice of depositing children with a creditor as security for the repayment of a debt, appears to have been very common, and in default of payment the children become the slaves of the creditor. This is an early form of hostage. A Hindu father may sell his son, and that this practice is common, especially in seasons of distress, is undeniable. The head only has the right to deal with the family property, and the members can acquire no separate property, but must bring it into the common fund. On the death of the head, "whichever of the sons is the most conversant with business is the proper one to interfere on the occasion; not primogeniture, but capacity being for the purpose considered as affording the best rule in a family, though, other things being equal, the elder has undoubtedly the better title." But the

Strange's Hindu Law, page 181.

succession to the headship or management must be with concurrence of the family, without which any dealings with the family property would be invalid.

Page 199.

The striking likeness between the customs of Hindus and the customs of the Romans in the days of the Republic point to a common origin. The Hindus have apparently remained stationary, or have changed but little for many ages, but the Romans advanced rapidly. Their conquests and the necessities of Government forced them to take notice of the customs and usages of the peoples under their dominion. With accumulating experience they began to compare, to criticise and to judge; they gradually recognised certain principles as running through and being common to the custom of many nations, and formed to themselves an ideal standard of excellence to which law and custom should conform. To this compound of general principles they gave the name of the law of nations, and they did not hesitate to legislate and to change the customs of all nations whom they governed, and obliged them to conform to their ideas of excellence. By these daring innovations the customs of the Franks, Goths and partly of the ancient Britons, were obliterated, and the law and custom of Rome became the law and custom of the empire. The Hindus do not ever appear to have been a conquering nation, but the remnants of ancient tribes, such as the Bhils and Sonthals, and generally the hilly and forest tribes who are not of the Aryan stock, indicate that at some distant time the Aryans moved into India, and the contest for the possession of the land was merely a cause of extermination just the same as the invasion of the Saxons into Britain. The geographical position of India has protected it in great measure from invasion from without, and the customs of the Hindus, not being subject to the discipline of comparison and conflict with others, did not develop with the same freedom as those of the Romans. It is thus that we find the customs and usages of the Hindus of the present day a tolerably faithful picture of the archaic customs of European nations.

The patriarchal system implies the existence of the family, and not one family alone, but all the persons who were descended from the chief, and who remained under him and were subject to his power. The natural restriction to the growth of the tribe was the limit of water and pasture. The patriarchal system had its origin in single families, which expanded into many families connected by ties of blood relationship. This tie of kindred was the bond of union, and ancient society consisted of a number of rude tribes. As the tribe became too large and unmanageable, it would break up into two or more, as in Lot's case. Each tribe was complete in itself. The pressure of a common danger might make two or

more tribes associate for the purpose of attack or defence; but, the danger over, the association dissolved and separated into its several tribal units. In the north of India

Maine's Ancient Law,  
page 262.

the archives show that the village communities were founded by an assembly of blood

relations.

The tribe, therefore, had its origin in a single family, consisting of a man, with his wife or wives, and under favorable circumstances, would develop and would even gather to itself men not of the family whose exigencies obliged them to become the servants or slaves of a powerful tribe. The bond of union of the tribe, or at least of all those members of it who were on a footing of equality, was the blood relationship subsisting between them.

Sir Henry Maine has put the family tie as the basis of union in the clearest light "If a man was not

Early History of Institutions, page 65.

"of kin to another, there was nothing between them. He was an enemy, to be

"slain, or spoiled, or hated, as much as the wild beasts upon which the tribe made war, as belonging indeed to the craftiest and the "cruellest order of wild animals. It would scarcely be too strong "an assertion, that the dogs which followed the camp had more in "common with it than the tribesmen of an alien and unrelated "tribe." The word which most commonly expressed this idea of relationship which knit the tribe together, was brother. The term which expressed the closest relationship between the sons of one father was thus extended in signification to include all those who were of one tribe and lived under common subjection to one patriarch, who was supposed to represent the common ancestor of them all. An Englishman in India is often puzzled with the number of brothers the natives seem to have, until he learns to distinguish between a brother of the same blood and a Jat Bhai, or brother of the same caste. After the tribes have settled down into villages, and the interests of the tribe are confined to the concerns of the village, the idea of blood relationship gradually fades, and the bond of union becomes the village bond. The village is at first the land occupied by a tribe, but, as strangers are allowed to settle in it who are not of the same family, the strength of the idea of blood relationship fades, and the common interest of the people being limited to the management of the concerns of the village, it becomes the bond of union. One belonging to the same village or town, or to the same part of the country, is looked upon with far more favor than a stranger. In time religion and political opinions acquire an extraordinary influence. The fierceness of fanaticism and the zeal of political partisans have a power of fusing and melting into one mass the most ex



treme sections of the human race. To profess the same religion is to be a brother; to be of the same party is a tie stronger than blood. In its purer forms the influence of brotherhood takes the form of patriotism; the good of the country rises above all other considerations, and the national flag becomes the symbol of the nation's unity and an object of veneration. The highest form to which the idea has yet reached, is that we are brothers by reason of our common humanity. We thus find the idea that assistance should be given to brothers of the same blood, and that all others are enemies, successively enlarged so as to include brothers of the same ancestor—brothers by reason of living in the same village—brothers of the same political party—brothers of one country—brothers of the same religion—brothers of the human family, and it is this assumption of brotherhood, or the equality of all, or the equal right of all to protection and assistance, that forms the basis of all enlightened legislation.

Early society, thus constituted by family groups, living under the common authority of an elected chief, and moving about in search of pasture and water, would, with the discovery and general introduction of the art of tillage, settle down in certain lands, where they would build and cultivate and pasture their cattle. But although they would cease to move about, there would not be any change in the government or customs of the tribe, or their mode of thoughts. The village would be as complete and independent as the tribe was formerly. Its first care would be to secure itself from hostile aggression, and we thus find that in ancient Germany "the mark has been formed by a primitive

Stubbs's Constitutional  
History, Vol. 1, page 49.

"settlement of a family or kindred in one of  
"the great plains or forests of the ancient  
"world; and it is accordingly, like any other  
"clearing, surrounded by a thick border of wood or waste, which  
"supplies the place, or increases the strength, of a more effective  
"natural boundary. In the centre of the clearing the primitive  
"village is placed; each of the markmen has there his homestead,  
"his house, courtyard, and farm buildings." The word *tun* or  
town was originally the name of the enclosure, or hedge, of the  
enclosed village, and such also was the meaning of the word  
"heim" or "ham." The Danish word was "by," and hence we  
have the names of so many towns in England which end in "by,"  
"ham" or "ton." The customs which were observed by the  
*tun*, or *by*, were the *bye-laws*. The tie which united these early village  
communities was simply that of kindred, and they had no general  
and political organisation. They were governed by chiefs who were  
chosen by the communities, or inherited power from their fathers  
and who were independent one of another and united only by

tribal name, and were of equal rank in the tribal council. The chiefs administered a rude justice, and the attitude of the village to other villages was determined by the blood relationship subsisting between them.

One hundred and fifty years after Cæsar, the Germans were observed by Tacitus. They were still a vast congeries of tribes, speaking the same language, but having no collective organisations.

Constitutional History, page 17. "They were singularly free from the commixture of blood with foreign races, their primitive traditions and mythology were alto-

gether their own. They had, as in later times, their own breeds of cattle, and their only wealth was the possession of herds. Money and merchandise were of little account with them. They had no cities, nor even streets in their villages; their buildings were rudely put together from rough, undressed materials. Their chastity and regard for marriage, the plainness and simplicity of their dress, their general temperance and sobriety are still strongly marked. The love of hunting has declined, and the warriors spend the season of peace in lazy enjoyment, they have begun to use wine and that not in moderation, and they have become inveterate and business-like gamblers. Agriculture of a simple description and for the growth of wheat only would seem to have increased, and the freemen and slaves alike have settled feuds. Local organisation too is much more largely developed."

We can thus see clearly that the time between Cæsar and Tacitus was a time of transition. Society was slowly throwing off its nomadic habit and settling down into villages, and agricultural life was fast superseding the pastoral. Some memorial verses printed in a Madras Government selection give a lively account of the manner in which the tribes followed their chief into the country about Arcot. "There the Vellalai conquered and

Early History of Institutions, page 71. "extirpated or enslaved some more primitive population and took permanent possession of its territory. The poetess, for

"the lines are attributed to a woman, compares the invasion to the flowing of the juice of the sugar-cane over a flat surface: "The juico crystallises and the crystals are the various village communities. In the middle is one lump of peculiarly fine sugar, "the place where is the temple of God."

There must have been some principle at work which governed the distribution of the tribe into villages, and that principle is most probably that of kinship. The invading tribe was probably not one vast tribe, but a confederation of many small tribes, each under its separate chief, and when the common purpose was effected, the units separated and confined themselves to distinct boundaries.

As vagrant habits died out and settled habits began to prevail, the fact that the members of the tribe and no others occupied a certain area of land would make kinship and occupation of the village synonymous ideas. "From the moment," says Sir Henry Maine, "when a tribal community settled down finally upon

Early History of Institutions, page 72. "a definite space of land, the land begins to be the basis of society in place of the

"kinship. The change is extremely gradual, and in some particulars it has not even now been fully accomplished, but it has been going on through the whole course of history." The idea of chief of the tribe gradually changed into chief of the village, and the dominant chief of many tribes becomes king of the country. But although there is no doubt that the earliest villages were the settlements of tribes, when society is more advanced, villages spring up whenever the conditions are favorable for safety. "The unit of the constitutional machinery,

Stubbs's Constitutional History, page 82.

"is the Township, the Villifa or Vicus. It may represent the original allotment of the smaller sub-division of the free community, or the settlement of the kindred colonising on their own account, or the estate of the great proprietor who has a tribe of dependants. The headman is the Tun-Gerefa, who in the dependent Township is of course nominated by the Lord, but in the independent ones may have been originally a chosen officer, although when the central power has become stronger, he may be, as in the Frank Villa, the nominee of the king or his officer. The internal organisation in both cases seem to have been much the same, for the dependent communities had probably, in most instances, been originally free and reduced to dependence by a powerful neighbour." In the Fifth Century therefrom the Saxon village in England was formed of persons who were bound together by the tie of kindred, who were independent of all others, and whose headman or chief was an elected officer.

We have said before that, with the exception of the head of the tribe, all other members were on a footing of equality, and in fact there could hardly have been difference of rank when all followed precisely the same occupation of herding cattle and a rude agriculture. The sanguinary and exterminating wars which the tribes waged, would for a long time prevent the existence of any member of an alien tribe, but it may be that as intercourse and exchange between tribe and tribe was forced on by circumstances, and the tribes subsequently quarrelled, and fought, some favored members of the conquered tribe would be spared, but, not being of the same blood as the conquerors, they could not participate in any of their privileges. If therefore their lives were spared, their existence

among the conquerors was merely permitted upon sufferance without their having any recognised place amongst them and without any rights whatever. This position of an alien among a victorious tribe was in fact slavery, and although the above description of its origin is fanciful, and there may have been many other causes which produced the position, yet its effect was always that the slave had no recognised position and no right. He was merely his master's goods to be killed whenever his master thought fit. It is needless to mention instances to show that the life of the slave was at the disposal of his master, and what a man had saved he could destroy. If he withheld his hand in the hour of battle and suffered the prisoner to live, he could exercise the right to kill him at any other time. The very fact of suffering an alien enemy to live shows an advance in humanity; and a few slaves in a tribe, sharing in the same occupation as their masters, eating of the same food, and with no other tribe to fly to, would, in a short time, identify themselves with the tribe, and would be an element of strength; but when the number of slaves increased, as it did in the palmy days of Rome, they became a source of danger, and the plan of distinguishing the slaves by a particular dress was abandoned, because it would reveal to them their strength. "As many enemies as slaves" became a proverb, and an atrocious law, intended to secure the safety of the citizens, provided that if a master were murdered, all the slaves in his house should be put to death. In one case 400 slaves of a Roman citizen were executed because their master had been murdered in his house.

The early tribes were thus divided into two classes, freemen and slaves, the former having equal rights and privileges and being connected by actual kinship, and the latter having no rights whatever. But after the tribes settled down into villages, and an agricultural life superseded a pastoral life, the equality subsisting between the freemen seems to have gradually changed into a division of ranks. The causes which chiefly appear to have developed this change are purity of descent from the original stock and wealth in cattle. In a tribal community held together solely by the bond of blood connexion, the position of a stranger who was not a slave of the tribe, would not at first be tolerated, but by the insensible action of intercourse with neighbouring tribes, there would probably be developed a feeling of tolerance towards him, and if a fugitive from one tribe appealed to the chief of another for permission to squat within the tribal limits, the application would not ordinarily be refused, but the new comer would not be allowed tribal privileges, nor would he be allowed to live in the village or share in the common cultivation. The favor that was generally allowed to him was only to live and cultivate within

that broad strip of border land which divided one village from another. Here he might cultivate with his own hand, or with the help of cattle lent to him by the chief, and it would be an easy step for the chief to require and to receive from the stranger a part of the produce and to appropriate it to himself. The greater power and greater share of produce thus accruing to the chief, would have a tendency to prompt him to extend this source of strength and introduce more strangers, until the community would come to consist of the descendants of the original stock, the stranger settlers and the slaves, but as the two last classes would have no tribal privileges, the first class would be regarded as the privileged class, and the idea of 'privilege would thus attach itself to the idea of birth or descent from the original settlers of the village.

The special privileges attached to a "class caused that class to acquire a higher social status, but among that class itself there must soon have arisen individuals who became conspicuous, not merely from their personal qualities but from their wealth in cattle, obtained perhaps as their share of spoil in a successful raid. Of course, there must have been a long interval of time before the community suffered the existence of private property in individuals, but when the tribe became stationary, there were many tendencies which would gradually suffer the accumulation of private property in the hands of individuals. Money was unknown or little known, but cattle were the index of wealth; the word capital is in fact derived from caput, the number of head of cattle which a man possessed, and so is the word chattels a corruption of cattles. It was, in fact, the one form of wealth which was generally known to the old world.

Hereditary wealth would induce the idea of hereditary nobility, until those who were born chiefs would think themselves of better stock than the man who had become a chief by his wealth. Maine sums up his considerations on nobility with the remark

Early History of Institutions, page 136.

that "the primary view of chieftainship is evidently that it springs from purity or dignity of blood, but noble birth is regarded as naturally associated with wealth, and he who becomes rich gradually climbs to a position indistinguishable from that which he would have occupied if he had been nobly born."

In Saxon England we find that "the fully qualified freeman who has an estate of land may be of various degrees of wealth and dignity from the ceorl with a single hide, to the thegn with five hides, to the still more powerful man who has thriven to eorl right or who has his forty hides, the alderman and the etheling.

Constitutional History, page 80.

"The noble may be forced to have a lord, the ceorl having land may dispense with one. There is no impassable barrier between the classes, the ceorl may become thegn worthy, and the thegn eorl worthy, and there are gradations in every class. The great distinction however is that of wealth; the landless ceorl is little better off than the slave.

The extent of land which a man holds determines his rank, a ceorl has one hide, a thegn 5 hides, an eorl or earl 40 hides. The successful merchant may thrive to thegn right, and the thegn might rise to the rank and status of an earl. On the Saxon conquest the leaders of the tribes would be rewarded by larger grants of land than the general body, and would be thus thegns and eorls, and the chief of the tribe generally became the hereditary king. In time the minor kings were swept away or fell under the rule of one or other of the kings of the heptarchy into which England became divided, and the several kingdoms of the heptarchy ultimately fell under the dominion of the kings of Wessex. The power which attached to the idea of king was thus constantly on the increase, and his dignity was more and more exalted. Side by side with his exaltation, the influence and dignity of his personal dependents, or *gesiths*, would increase, and the great officers of state would rank as high as, or higher than, the nobles by birth or wealth. The alderman or earl was the chief civil officer of the district or shire, and the dux was the chief military officer. The relative rank of persons in those times may be estimated by their *wergild*, or the value which was placed upon their lives, and which had to be paid by the man who slew any of them. This valuation also determined the importance to be attached to his oath.

It cannot be too often repeated that the original settlers of a village were men connected by actual bonds of kinship, who were on an absolute equality, and that the existence of private and separate property in land was unknown. Cæsar, speaking of the Germans, says, "no one has a fixed quantity of land or boundaries

Constitutional History,  
page 12.

"that may be called his own, but the magistrates and chiefs assign annually and for a single year's occupancy to the several com-

munities, larger or smaller, whom the tie of common religious rites or consanguinity has brought together, a portion of land, the extent and situation of which they fix according to circumstances. The next year they compel them to move elsewhere." In Cæsar's time the Germans had not quite settled down into villages, they were still semi-nomadic, and when they did finally settle down, the mode of cultivation would be exactly the same. Each man would have his allotted share to cultivate and throw the produce

into the common granary, and at the next sowing season the lands would be re-allotted. Writing of the Suivi, who were engaged in constant war, he says, "after a year's service the warriors return home" and till the land; their places are supplied by the husbandmen

Page 14.

"of the previous year, so agriculture and war-like discipline are perfectly maintained.

"But private and separate estates of land do not exist, and the term of occupation is restricted to the year."

The remarks of Tacitus who, observed the Germans 150 years afterwards, are thus rendered by Stubbs—"The wide forests and untilled plains are common property. But there is not yet apparently any separate ownership, even of

Constitutional History, page 19.

"the cultivated land. True, we read no longer of the annual migrations of families

"or small communities from one portion of the territory of the tribe to another. The village settlements are permanent, and the dwellings substantial and extensive. But the arable land is occupied by the community as a body, and allotments, changed annually, are assigned to the several freemen according to their estimation or social importance. The extent of waste land prevents any difficulty in the supply of the divisible area. The arable area is changed every year, and there is abundance over." The division was still by lot, but it seems a few favoured individuals obtained more than the others. This may imply that each man now kept the produce of his own lot to himself, and that there was no longer a common granary, or it may mean that the chief who got a large share of land was entitled to take from the granary a greater share in proportion to the larger area of his lot. There is no direct evidence of a common granary, but the State was in the habit of rewarding its chief by grants of corn and cattle. This implies the existence of State property, and Stubbs thinks that this was cultivated by the slaves. Judging from the custom of other tribes, I should think, as there was no distinction of property, the produce of each field was thrown into the common granary, from which each received his share, after deducting what was required for the purpose of the State, such as the supply of corn to the warrior in the field. The public grants would be made from the same stock, and the division of the land into lots was, apparently, made to apportion a fair task to each member.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that the same practice was followed in Germany. A large grant was, it appears, made to wealthy persons, wealth consisting of cattle only, perhaps acquired by cattle-lifting from other tribes by individual dexterity, which would be kept as private property, and private property in this form was permitted as well as in slaves and in the homestead,

but the tribal land was common property in which no individual had a private right. A warrior who had brought captives into slavery, and had acquired cattle would get a larger allotment to cultivate, than a warrior who had less slaves and cattle, or none at all, and in proportion to the extent of the allotment would the allottee share in the common produce for the support of himself and his slaves.

The Saxons, having exterminated the natives and settled down into villages, would naturally reproduce in England the customs of Germany. Of these the method of common cultivation would be followed as the only one with which they were familiar. The fact of the migration from Germany would imply that the Saxon had felt the pressure of population upon the land, and a surplus would thus be forced to migrate in search of new lands. But this very pressure must have been preceded by a long period of stationariness upon certain lands, and in this state the annual re-division of fields among the whole of the people would be growing more and more inconvenient, and would be forcing upon them the necessity of re-dividing the land less frequently, or of not venturing to disturb existing possession. There is no fixed date at which it can be said the practice had ceased, but it declined imperceptibly. The right to re-divide, and the right of every freeman to possess a lot would never be disputed, but to enforce the right would be a task beyond the power of the chief until, by long disuse, the right itself would cease to be acknowledged. It seems to be almost settled that, at the time of the Saxon conquest, private property became at once the rule in England, and the Germanic mark system, as it is called, was not enforced in the new settlements. The conquered land was apportioned among the tribe, and at once became private property.

The German mark system is thus described:—"Its essential character depends on the tenure and cultivation of the lands by the members of the community in partnership. The general name of the mark is given to the territory which is held by the community, the absolute ownership of which resides in the community itself or in the tribe or nation of which the community forms a part. The mark has been formed by a primitive settlement of a family or kindred." Each markman has a right to the enjoyment of the woods, the pastures, the meadow and the arable land of the mark, but the right is of the nature of usufruct or possession only. The right of each is one of absolute equality, and when that has ceased to be the rule, it is regulated by strict proportion. The arable area is divided into as many equal shares as there are mark families in the village and is subject to the alternation of crops. In the infancy of agriculture, the alternation



would be simply that of corn and fallow, and for these two divisions a common field would suffice. But as tillage developed, the community would have three or more divisions on which the proper rotation of crops and fallow might be observed. In each division the markman has his share. The area of the meadow, the rotation of crops and allotment of shares are determined by the village assembly in which every markman may sit, and without its consent no stranger may settle in the territory or purchase the share of another.

If a markman built his hut apart from the village street and made a clearing for himself in the forest which surrounded the village lands, this would be his separate field, and would not be liable to be re-allotted. It is not probable that this would often occur, but the practice of settling broken men upon the border lands and of admitting strangers to settle there was a recognised practice, and the head of the village no doubt received something in the shape of tribute or rent from these men for the indulgence given them. The increase of these rude holdings would familiarise the primitive settlers with the idea of separate property in land, and when the annual re-division grew to be inconvenient, the nature of the holdings of the original settlers would assimilate to the practice of the border holdings. It is not only the growth of population that would induce a change in the practice of annual re-division; the knowledge of farming would tend to make the greatest difference observable in the produce of a field when managed by a skilful farmer and by an ignorant one, and the mark system was therefore only possible so long as the village community was not large, and there was an equality of farming skill. But while separate property in fields would then grow up, the right of grazing in the forest and of collecting forest produce would continue the same, the common right of every freeman in the village.

The mark system was not confined to the Germans, it was equally the custom of the Latin Franks, and the manner of administering the affairs of the village was just the same; nor could a stranger settle in the village lands without the permission of the freemen.

"The village community of India," writes Sir Henry Maine, "exhibits resemblances to the Teutonic township which are much too strong and numerous to be accidental; where it differs from the township the difference may be at least plausibly explained.

It has the same double aspect of a group of families united by the assumption of common kinship and of a company of persons exercising joint ownership over land. The domain which it occupies is distributed, if not in the same manner,

"upon the same principles, and the ideas which prevail within the group of the relations and duties of its members to one another appear to be substantially the same." And again; "the description of the Teutonic or Scandinavian village

Page 107.

"communities might actually serve as a description of the same institution in India. There is the arable mark divided into separate lots, but cultivated according to minute customary rules binding on all, whenever the climate admits of the fine grass crops, there are the reserved meadows lying generally on the verge of the arable mark. There is the waste or common land, out of which the arable mark has been cut, enjoyed as pasture by all the community *pro-indiviso*. There is the village, consisting of habitations, each ruled by a despotic *pater familias*, and there is constantly a council of government to determine disputes as to custom." And, to complete the similarity between German villages and Indian, we may refer to Elphinstone's account of an Indian village. "The popular notion is that the village landholders are all descended from one or more individuals who settled the villages, and that the only exceptions are formed by persons who have derived their rights by purchase or otherwise from members of the original stock. A landholder may sell or mortgage his rights, but he must first have the consent of the villagers, and the purchaser steps exactly into his place and takes up all his obligations. If a family becomes extinct its share returns to the common stock."

History of India, page 126

The Russian villages, according to modern researches, are organized communities on the same model as the Indian villages, but they still appear to retain the practice of re-dividing the land periodically. In the South Danubian Provinces, such as Slavonia and Servia, the villages are still believed to be a group of kinsmen, the land is cultivated by the labor of all, and the produce is divided once a year and distributed according to certain fixed rules.

It would seem, therefore, that German, Frank, Saxon, Russian, Slavonian and Indian villages have all been formed upon the same idea of kinship, and it may be presumed from what we know of the Germans that the preceding stage of all was the tribal, or patriarchal, following a pastoral life and having property in common, with equal rights and with equal duties. It is possible and even probable that separate property in cattle may have grown up in the pastoral state, and a man rich in cattle would attach to himself a number of the tribe more or less dependent upon his bounty, and that the fact of difference in wealth may have induced difference in rank. So that even in the pastoral state

there may have been distinctions of wealth and rank, which was a consequence of wealth.

The shock to which most villages have been subjected during the long anarchy of Hindu and Mahomedan rule, has destroyed in great measure the rule that no stranger should be permitted to settle in the village without the consent of the community; but the ancient type of the village community still exists in many parts, and the landholders are known by the significant name of *bhagdars*, or co-sharers of the village. In the Oudh Land Revenue Act there are clear evidences of the common ownership to which legal recognition is given. The grants of villages or districts made by the Mahomedan ruler have in very many parts super-imposed a *talukdar* who holds his village on much the same tenure as the Norman nobles held their English estates after the conquest, and although centuries have passed since these grants were made, the villages submit ungrudgingly to the recognition of the *talukdar's* over lordship. The Act, however, recognises the title of the *talukdar* where it is distinct, but declares that, when several persons are in possession of a village, there should be a joint-settlement of the revenue with all such persons, who should be jointly responsible. The ancient Germanic custom of annual re-division still appears to survive, for in Section 31 it is written:—  
“In any *mahal* where by the established custom the land or the amount of revenue payable by each co-sharer is subject to periodical re-distribution or re-adjustment,” the practice may be enforced on the application of any co-sharer. A further stage of development is also recognised, for it appears to be in practice not infrequent for the co-sharers to agree to a division of the lands once for all, which are then held separately as private property, but the revenue, assessed upon the village, is still borne as a general charge upon the villagers. This is apparently a survival of the idea that the original form of taxation was not a tax upon land, but that each tribal community settled in a village was required to bring so much corn and cattle for the public requirements, or commute the assessment into so many pieces of silver. The villagers cultivated lands, and it was a share of the produce of these lands that they were called upon to contribute, but it was not because the villagers were cultivators that they were assessed, but because they were freemen of the tribes and were therefore liable to contribute to the tribal burdens. As a freeman, each was entitled to a lot of land in the village, but whether he cultivated or not, he was equally liable for his quota. This idea has apparently dimly survived in Oudh, that the Government taxation is a personal burden upon each freeman of the village and not upon the land, and therefore, while a growing inconvenience might induce them to forego annual distribution for perma-

ment lots, the idea of a personal burden would not be disturbed, and they would divide among themselves the tax which the Government might fix on the land in the way most suitable to their primitive ideas. Almost all over India the settlement of the Government tax is and was made in a lump with the headman of the village, and was rather a tribute than a land tax, and the task of subdividing this sum and apportioning the payment upon each individual villager was left to the villagers themselves. Native Governments never interfered with the customs of villages; each village was assessed at a certain sum, which was sometimes fixed in perpetuity, or more often was settled annually between the Government officers and the headmen of the village, and the terms were put into the form of a written agreement and signed by the headmen. This practice has, in Guzerat, given rise to the term *matadars*, or signatories of the contract, which is now looked upon as a term of honor, although the practice of signing the contract has long been discontinued.

If we knew enough of the interior economy of an Indian village, it would be interesting to trace and observe how the tribute was apportioned among the villagers; whether it was confined to the land-owners only, or extended to all residents of the village. We can only affirm that the incidence was extremely unequal and depended almost solely upon custom. Some were obliged to pay far more than others, apparently only because their fathers used to pay a large share, and these were usually the poorest of the community. But we may now advance the theory that these unequal shares were originally regulated upon a principle—the broad principle that each freeman or descendant of the original tribe was entitled to a free lot, subject only to such contributions as he was obliged to make for the tribal wants, and these contributions would be very equally distributed. But while every freeman was only obliged to contribute equally with other freemen, the same principle would not be applied to the strangers and freed slaves who might have been allowed to settle upon the village border; these settlers were then upon sufferance and had to submit to such terms as the freemen imposed. It would not be the policy of the village to allow these settlers to grow wealthy and to be exempt from burdens which were imposed upon freemen, and the natural practice would be to exact as much as possible from these strangers and freed slaves and apportion the balance of the contribution among the freemen.

Besides the system of common cultivation and joint responsibility which exists in Oudh, the traces of an almost identical system may be found in the Narwadari tenures in Guzerat. Mr. Pedder thus describes them:—"Each village was originally founded by a family, or association of families, of the cultivating castes, Rajputs

“ and Kuubis, Boras, or Bhatelas, all apparently belonging to kindred tribes. These people with their servants and halis (slaves) fixed the village site, dug the well and tank, planted the groves, built the village temple and thus exercised rights of possession. They then induced artisans to settle in their village, who were the servants of the community and to whom they gave houses, bits of land rent-free, grain, cesses, &c. Other cultivators, mostly of inferior castes, were in process of time attracted to the village, and the proprietary body permitted them to cultivate such land as they did not want themselves, but gave them no proprietary rights.”

This, of course, is a fancy sketch, but it represents the legendary idea of the foundation of the village by families who were kindred to one another, and that strangers were subsequently allowed to settle in the village lands on sufferance. Mr. Pedder proceeds:—

“ At first, the proprietary body probably held the land absolutely in common, agreeing at the beginning of each season what lands each member should cultivate, the remainder being left for the non-proprietary to choose from.” There is no evidence of this but Mr. Pedder, who was acquainted with the Oudh system, explains the origin of the Narwa tenure with the light thrown upon it by the commune system of Oudh. He does, however, give an illustration of the practice in some of the Koli villages of Paranteg:—“ Every third year the villagers agree in what locality they will cultivate. By having their crops all in one part of the village lands, they can assist each other in guarding them; when they have settled this, they divide themselves into small farms of two to five or six cultivators. The Patel distributes the land among these farms, the members of which cultivate in common, and after paying the Bigoti, divide the grain among themselves, generally in proportion to the number of bullocks each man has put into the common stock.”

This is certainly a survival of a very primitive custom. There is still the periodical division of lands among the community and a fair apportionment of labor to each; the produce is thrown into a common stock from which common charges are defrayed, and the balance is divided on a regular principle. The practice of cultivating in a different part of the village lands in different years is required to let the land lie fallow. Under the mark system the land was generally divided into three parts, and each part was cultivated in turn, and Sir Henry Maine, in his “Village Communities,” has pointed out a number of instances in England in which the baulks or strips of uncultivated land, which divided those parts, still exist.

The next stage of the beginning of private property is thus described:—“ But when the proprietors became numerous enough

“to occupy most of the more valuable land, an actual division naturally ensued. The principle upon which this division was made was the following:—A certain portion of the land, usually the least valuable, was generally set aside to be still held in common as common pasturage, waters of village servants, and to be let to non-proprietary cultivators on behalf of the community. This was called *gaumbhag* or *majmua*. The remainder of the lands was primarily divided into estates (called *motabhags*, *pattees*, *pans*, &c) according to the original families who founded the village, or their main branches. Each of these estates was then sub-divided among the members of each family strictly in accordance with the rule of inheritance, allowance being made sometimes in quantity for the inferior fertility of some shares.”

This is certainly a very confident description of the origin of private property, but it may safely be said that the original proprietors never made a division such as Mr. Pedder has described. The conception that a man could hold a certain piece of land as a right against the rest of the tribe was of slow and difficult growth, and has not yet become universal. But as far as we can read the history of the past by the scattered glimpses which we possess, we may affirm that the right of private property in land grew up insensibly and under great social pressure, the right of the community existing in theory; the practice growing wider and wider from the theory. It is possible that the *motabhags* do represent the lands occupied by some remote ancestor and his descendants when the annual re-divisions ceased. But it is hardly probable that the community would have reserved land for strangers, considering the aversion with which they were regarded. All outside the cultivated land would be either forest or meadow, and strangers might be allowed to settle there, and there the community would graze their cattle. No individual would ever aspire to separate rights in those lands, and they have continued to be common land or folk-land in England, Germany and India. The freemen of the village may be scattered, but there are even now many curious instances in which individuals have grazing rights in the common of some distant village which is the only evidence to shew that they originally were freemen of that village.

All the sub-sharers in Narwa villages had equal rights, and each group elected its chief, thus reproducing in the sub-section the organisation of the tribe. The several chiefs jointly acted as representatives of the village in dealings with Government and strangers, and this is in fact the village council for village affairs, although one, no doubt, would be the leader of the council. No number is assigned, but it is probable the council consisted of

five men or the panch, just as in England the villages had a Reeve and four men, the Reeve corresponding to the Patel.

Of non-proprietary cultivators Mr. Pedder says they were of two kinds—"mere tenants-at-will and those who had acquired some sort of right to their lands. The latter class were mostly those who cultivated the common lands. As the proprietors did not want these lands themselves, and as it was an object to them to get them cultivated, the tenants were naturally undisturbed in their possession; and since custom in India especially is always tending to become right, they gradually acquired a customary title to the possession of their holdings, greatly strengthened when they had permanently improved them. Those persons who cultivated the lands of particular proprietors were mostly mere tenants-at-will. If a proprietor could not cultivate himself all his lands, he usually tried to get some stranger to settle in the village and rent it from him. To this person he gave a site for a house in his share of the village site, and was considered to have a right to the tenant's services. If the latter rented other lands, he paid a cess to the original landlord in acknowledgment of this right."

Mr. Pedder's opinion that non-proprietary cultivators were sought for by the village community and induced to settle in the village is, if not purely fanciful, at least so far posterior to the development of private property as not to affect the question as to the origin of this non-proprietary body. It seems to me clear, however, from the evidence that has been gathered as to the composition of early Germanic villages, that the non-proprietary body were the slaves of the community and the fugitives who were permitted to settle on the waste. Every freeman in those early days belonged to a tribe and had his lot in the tribal village. If he fell under the displeasure of his brethren and was expelled from the tribe, or if he became a fugitive, he would seek refuge in some other tribe. Among them he might be allowed to settle, but as he was not of their kin, his lot would lie in the waste, or the common land, and not in the cultivated land. We have positive proof of the existence of these settlements of strangers and freed slaves in Germany and England, and in Ireland we have read how they were rack-rented. This exaction of rent from them would in time become a source of profit to the community, and it may be that then it would be thought politic to induce strangers to come, but the introduction of strangers was always, and is to this day, regarded with jealousy. No stranger was allowed to settle in the village mark without the consent of the tribe. No stranger is now allowed to become a proprietor in a Narwa village without the consent of the Narwadars. If a proprietor in Oudh wishes to sell his

share, he must offer it first to his near kinsmen, then to the more remote, then to the village community, and if all these decline to purchase, he may sell it to an outsider. In the Bombay Narwadar Act the alienation of only recognised shares is permitted, and no right of pre-emption is given to the other Narwadars, but there is no doubt that alienation to a stranger was not known to the native custom, and our legislative permission to sell to a stranger is an innovation. The native point of view is that the village lands are tribal lands, which may be allowed to descend to and be subdivided among individuals of the tribe according to customary rules of inheritance, but, failing heirs, the land re lapses into the folk-land of the village in which the community have equal rights. Sales and gifts among themselves are permissible, but to admit a stranger to be a proprietor is to destroy the tribal unity. The English view assumes that the tribal unity no longer exists, and that individual rights should not be controlled by village rights which have lost all meaning now that tribes are defunct. The Narwadari Act, in prohibiting the sale of unrecognised bhags, does not maintain any essential feature of the tenure. The unrecognised bhag is merely the undefined share of a Narwadar in the joint family property, and this indefinite share can no more be sold than the indefinite share of a member of any joint Hindu family. The Act therefore is of no use except as affirming that a recognised bhag can be sold even to a stranger. What does keep up the tenure is the survey practice of assessing the village lands, both cultivated and waste, and then demanding the lump sum from the bhagdars, who are then treated as the owners of the whole village, and Government have reserved no rights over the waste land. In England the folk-land passed gradually from the control of the village to the control of the king. It was by grants of folk-land that services to the tribe were rewarded, and as the head of the tribe expanded into the king of the State, he still exercised this practice with the assent of his witan or council, until the idea that the folk-land belonged to the king superseded the idea that it belonged to the village.

The system of payment of the Government revenue by a definite share of the gross produce of each village was in full force at the time of Akbar, and his revenue reform consisted in demanding a money payment in place of payment in kind. His survey was made with a view to fixing the value which each village should pay, but he made no change in the management of the village, the community continued to manage its own affairs, and the payment was no doubt made by dividing the amount among the sharers according to the customary division. But when the Marathas overran the country and farmed out the revenue to spe-



culators, whose only object was to make money in as short a time as possible, the demands upon the villages increased so rapidly and enormously, and the communities were harassed so continuously by extraordinary exactions, that "many villages were deserted and

Pedder's Report, page 9. "never reoccupied by their original owners,

"and in many others the farmers altogether  
"usurped the rights of the original proprietors."

"But in many villages especially in Broach and Khaira, the  
"proprietary body succeeded in retaining the management of  
"their villages, and in order to meet the new demands, founded  
"neither on a definitive share of the produce, nor on a fixed amount of the land, but only regulated by the ability of the ryots  
"to pay, they invented the Narwa or bhagdari system which was  
"simply this:—The joint responsibility for the payment of the  
"Government demands was divided in the same manner as the  
"lands of the community had originally been, and each proprietor  
"was held answerable for a share of the revenue proportionate  
"to his share of the proprietary right, the members of each family  
"holding a separate estate, being in the first instance responsible  
"for each other, and finally the whole co-parcenary being jointly  
"answerable for the entire amount being paid."

But what evidence is there for assuming that this system was introduced during the period of Maratha oppression? Of a period so recent there should be abundance of evidence in support of this view, but Mr. Pedder advances no evidence whatever. Nor is there any necessity for assuming that any violent change occurred in the constitution of the village. The truth would appear to be that the Narwa village constitution is the ancient constitution, and it survived in those villages where the feeling of family connexion among the sharers had the strongest vitality.

But the disruption of the ancient constitution of villages did not cease with the fall of the Marathas. Under English administration their constitution was broken up from mere ignorance.  
"Within a few years of the beginning of our rule, most villages

Page 4. "were made kacha, that is, taken under the

"direct control of Government; the management of the common or majmun lands was taken out of the hands of the matadars, and the occupants of these were considered tenants of Government, not of the matadars. A lump assessment was fixed upon the Narwa or bhagwari lands, and the joint responsibility of the co-parcenary kept up. But the jamabandy was not collected in a lump through the matadars, but by the talati from each sharer individually. The talati calculating the amount of his khata by a phalni on his share according to the lump assessment fixed by the Collector."

We can now see how unfair this practice was. The sharers were at once deprived of the common lands of their villages, and they had no power to object to the cultivation of these lands by strangers, yet if the strangers failed to pay, the whole body was responsible for the deficit. The strangers were in like manner responsible for the debts of their neighbours.

This short review of the commune tenures of Oudh and Guzerat discloses that in India there still exists in active operation, the primitive village community at different stages of its development.

In England, notwithstanding the progress made in the establishment of private property, certain ancient customs still exist to attest a condition of things when property had hardly merged from joint communal ownership. "Common lands of manors and

Stubbs's Constitutional History, page 84.

"townships still exist at the present day, and within a century common cultivation also existed in many parts of England. It is to this system that the origin of some part of the machinery of local courts of the manor and township which still exist may be traced. The right of the markmen to determine whether a new settler should be admitted to the township exists in the form of admitting a tenant at the court baron and customary court of every manor; the right of the markmen to determine the bye-laws, the local arrangement and the common husbandry or the fencing of the hay field, or the proportion of cattle to be turned into the common pasture, exists still in the manorial courts and in the meetings of the townships. The very customs of relief and surrender, which are often regarded as distinctly feudal, are remnants of the polity of the time when every transfer of property required the witness of the community to whose membership the new tenant was thereby admitted."

Most of the land in the Deccan at the date of the introduction of British rule was held on mirasi tenure, and it would be interesting to trace whether this tenure, which was so much respected and esteemed even by the most unscrupulous of the native kings, is not in fact a development of the tribal system of holding land. In the Appendix to Elphinstone's Report on the countries conquered from the Peshwas, there are several reports of the inquiries made by British officers regarding this tenure. The prevalent idea was that all the land was originally miras land, and that it had gradually fallen into the hands of Government by the failure of "heirs of the mirasdars or other accidental circumstances, such as quarrels amongst brothers or relations about the division of their lands, which they often desired to give up altogether rather than resign to each other any part of what they held to be their

“rights ; or perhaps the poverty of the mirasdar, and declining state of the country may have induced many to give up their lands.” Whole villages were at that time still held under miras tenure, and when part of the lands was held by upris, which literally means strangers, the fields were still entered in the records in the names of the original miras proprietors. The tenure was briefly that the owner only paid a land tax for his field, which was not liable to increase or decrease. His payment did not depend upon the cultivation of his field, but he paid in any case, whether the field was fallow or not, and he was not liable to be ejected so long as he paid the rent, and even if he absconded and then returned and paid what was due, the land was returned to him. His tenure was in fact the same as that of the present survey occupant with this difference that by the survey a revision of the tax is made every 30 years, while the miras payment was theoretically fixed in perpetuity, and his land was not saleable to others. The miras holder was therefore in a far better position than the upri, who was a mere tenant, and with whom a hard bargain was invariably driven. The mirasdar had full rights over his land, he might sell or let it to others, and when he died his rights passed to his heir. He was “proud of his situation, and was envied among his “brethren,” and no consideration would induce him to abandon his rights. He stuck to his land in spite of oppression and cruelty, and “where we see half-deserted villages, we find on inquiry that the “inhabitants who have deserted are for the most part what are “termed upri tenants or tenants-at-will ; this class differs only “from wuttundars by having no right to the soil ; they come and “settle in the village, and are permitted by the Patel to cultivate “a certain portion of land.” A mirasdar or wuttundar, as he was “more properly called, would sell his house and bullocks or clothes, “and even bind himself to serve another to ensure the payment “of his sara or tax, because it is honorable and respectable in the “eyes of his neighbours to preserve his mirasi lands, and when he “fails to pay his dues upon them, his ruin is considered as decided.” Still by his insolvency he did not forfeit his land for “when the “mirasdar cannot pay his rent, the amount of the dues falls on the “other mirasdars should the insolvent mirasdar remain in the vil- “lage, but if he should quit the district the others are not called “upon to pay the rent. During his absence the Government has a “right to make the most of his field, and even to let it in lease, but “for a period usually not exceeding three years and till the expira- “tion of which the mirasdar cannot claim restitution.” He or his heir might return at any time within 100 years and claim his land, which must be restored to him, and according to another opinion, if he died without heirs or left the village permanently, “his land

"became the property of the village unless he returned within 30 years." The general body of mirasdars had a concurrent right to sell such lands which they sometimes practised.

In Mr. Chaplin's Report of 1822 there is a passage, para. 129, in which he speaks of the minute division of the miras lands among heirs and the joint responsibility for the payment of the Government dues. This he calls the jatta. "Each jatta forms a sort of clanship, and on the decease of any one belonging to it without heirs, his share devolves to the nearest of kin, who is held responsible for the public rent of it, and on his failure the whole jatta or clan is considered answerable. A substantial ryot often occupies the shares that have fallen into the surviving stock of many of his relatives. In this case he is expected to provide for the maintenance of the widows or infants of the deceased incumbents. Even though the surviving members of the clan are too poor to admit of their cultivating the lapsed shares of those who have become extinct, they still cling to them with some tenacity and seldom alienate the miras right except in case of urgent necessity. If utterly incapable of occupying them, the officers of Government interfere in procuring their cultivation by upris or strangers, but this is only done when no other resource is left for preventing the loss which Government would otherwise sustain from their lying fallow. Whenever the confederate body of the mirasdars can conveniently be made answerable, this interference is dispensed with." In Satara if a mirasdar let his land lie waste, the other mirasdars obliged him to pay his rent lest it should fall upon themselves. The mirasdar also appears to have been exempt from the marriage, house and buffalo taxes. "He has a voice in all, the village councils, has a right of pasture on the village commons, can build a house and dispose of it by sale, which an upri is not always allowed to do. On the contrary if the upri leaves the village, his house becomes the property of the township." And the social position of the mirasdar is such that "he and his wife are entitled to precedence before an upri in all invitations to marriages, or dinners, and in receiving betel or taking leave, or on other occasions of ceremony. He can also form a respectable connexion by marriage, which an upri can rarely do."

The custom of pre-emption also prevailed among mirasdars. "In the Akola Pargana of Ahmednagar, and probably in many other places the custom prevails of reserving to the relatives of a mirasdar the first option of being the purchaser. On their declining to buy, the preference is given to the Patels, and after them the principal mirasdars have a priority of claim before the miras can

"be disposed of to an inhabitant of an adjoining village or to a "stranger."

The extracts given show that the mirasi tenure was ancient and general, and that cultivation by tenants-at-will was an innovation. They testify to the social importance of the mirasdar and his special privileges, such as exemption from certain taxes, also to the tenacity with which the poorest mirasdar clung to his land, the custom of joint responsibility for the payment of the land tax, the lapse of mirasi lands to the general body of mirasdars on failure of heirs, the right of the general body to sell such lands, and the custom of pre-emption, or the right to keep the land among the relatives rather than admit strangers, and also the right to sit in the village council and decide in its affairs. There is no distinct evidence that the land was a co-parcenary, but the facts of joint responsibility on the default of a sharer, and the joint succession to his land in case of his dying without heirs, evidently point to the very probable conclusion that the village in its foundation was joint tribal property, and that time wrought the insensible change of a division of the tribal property among the large number of families into which the tribe had grown up, and that joint responsibility and joint successions are survivals of the primitive customs of tribal responsibility, and the habit of never regarding the individual except as belonging to a family or a tribe. The Collector of Kanara writing in 1807 described the lands in Kanara as vested in communities "the villages above the Ghâts are like corporations, "communities, municipalities, republics, which are the proprietors "of the whole lands of the village." In Tonda, Mandalan or Arcot the mirasdars are described of two kinds—"Parankarai where the "whole lands of the village are held jointly, and either cultivated in "common or divided yearly, or at some fixed period according to "established customs among the proprietors. Amdikarai where the "lands are held in severalty, and subject consequently to no periodical distribution." Wilson says that the term *mirasi* is used, especially in the South of India, to signify lands held by absolute hereditary proprietorship under one of three contingencies, one of which was a joint co-parcenary tenure in the lands of a village, and either cultivated in common or allotted annually or at some other stated period among the proprietors. This definition must have been given upon authority and would show that miras land, that is, the general tenure of all Southern India, was originally cultivation by village communes, with no idea of private property, but subject to periodical allotments in the same way as the mark system of Germany. And as all ancient society consisted of companies of blood relations, the links in the chain are fairly complete to prove that mirasi tenure was a development in a direct line of

the tribal system, and all its privileges and peculiarities may be explained by reference to the conditions of early tribal property. The survey system has destroyed the mirasdar. It took away from him the idea of absolute ownership and put him upon a level with the upri or mere tenant;—the fixed land tax which he used to pay has been changed for a land tax which is revised every thirty years, and which, from this fact and from the fact that it leaves nothing to the Kunbi beyond a bare subsistence, is in fact a rent and not a tax.

In the pastoral state, when the tribe became too large and unmanageable, the remedy was to divide the tribe, a certain number of families thenceforward following a new chief, and the rest adhering to the old chief. When the tribes had settled down into villages, and the village community had grown to be unmanageable on the system of commonalty, private property would gradually supplant the old system of periodical re-division and community of goods, and each man who had then kept his land apart for several years would bequeath it to his children. It would be by slow and imperceptible degrees that he would acquire a sense of individual property in the land, but while he might dispute the right of the community to dispossess him and bring the land into division, he would hardly acquire the idea that he had an exclusive right as against the members of his own family. Lapse of time would have made the feeling of kinship with the community too faint to be an active principle, while natural affection for his children, common labor on the same field, dwelling in the same house and eating of the same dish, would have an active force far greater than the idea of common descent from a remote ancestor. The same idea of property which the tribe originally worked upon, would thus reproduce itself exactly within the limits of the family, and the family land would be held on exactly the same conditions as tribal lands were held by the tribe. The property would lie not in any individual, but in the family; there would be no defined share, but upon each would be cast the duty of working upon the land, and he would possess the right of sharing in the produce. The fact of a man belonging to a family would of itself cause him to join in the common labor, live in the common homestead, and eat of the common food. The father was the manager of the whole property, the family owed him implicit obedience, and his power extended to life and death over the members of the family. The joint family is in fact the tribe in miniature, and is only kept from expanding into a tribe by outward pressure, the family land is hemmed in by the vicinage of the lands of other families, and the family is thus limited to a certain development, while a variety of causes tend to carve out portions of the property for individual members who separate from the parent stock. When a family

from any cause lost its lands, but still held together, the earnings of the members would still be subject to those ideas of common property which were prevalent, and even new families would obey the customary practices of the old land families. India is just in this stage of development. Society is composed not of individuals but of joint families, individual property is not the rule but the exception, but a principle has been introduced which is rapidly breaking up these families, and this is that what a person acquires by his individual skill belongs to himself and will not be brought into the common stock, and also by the operation of gifts. A member of a joint Hindu family may acquire separate property to his own particular use in which the family will have no right to share, but when the common property has been used and contributed to the acquisition, the property is considered joint and not self-acquired. And so also if the man has received a superior technical education at the cost of the family, his gains will be family property and not private. But these rules are apparently being very much relaxed, for there is a constant effort at every partition to show that property has been self-acquired, and to refine and explain away the share which the use of the common fund may have had in the transaction. The practice of partition which must be made at the demand of any sharer is also tending to introduce ideas of private property. Partition is now very frequent, and it is rare to see a joint Hindu family which has stood for more than two generations. In Bengal the power of the manager of the property to make a gift even of family property seems to be established. It is thought censurable, but the act is valid, for, as the Hindu lawyer expresses it, "a fact cannot be altered by a hundred texts."

The general rule however continues to be that any alienation of the common family property must be for the general good, and must be with consent of the members, express or implied; but the rule had been much relaxed even before the British rule, for Colebrooke writes with reference to a Madras case "that the consent

Hindu Law, page 200.

"of the sharers, express or implied, is indispensable to a valid alienation of joint property beyond the share of the actual alienor." This implies that the alienor may sell his share only, without consent, and Strange observes:—"When each parcener is considered to have vested in him, during the co-partnership, several, though undivided, right, as in the case when the authority of Jimuta Vahana prevails, it is clear there may be an assignment before partition; the alienee becoming a sort of tenant in common with the other parcnere, admissible as such to his distributive share upon a partition taking place."

The practice of making wills which has been established in the Presidency towns and in Bengal is also a violent infraction of the theory of joint property, of which the father is only the manager, and in respect of which he can do no act except for the

Act XX<sub>1</sub> of 1870.

common good, and yet by will the father may distribute his property unequally; he may leave the bulk of the property to one or more favoured sons and provide a scant maintenance for others. Government did no more by this Act than give legislative recognition to customs which had grown up, and the existence of these customs is evidence to show that the archaic principle of joint family property is fast decaying.

From a state of things in which all the sons jointly inherit the family property in common to a state in which all the sons inherit in equal shares, but not in common, is obviously but a small step, and this is the state in which we find Europe at present, and to which the people of Bengal are striving to attain. The time is one of transition, and whenever favorable opportunities occur, the members of a joint family put forth claims to deal independently with their undefined shares, and, if successful, they disconnect themselves from the parent stock and demand a partition, keeping their self-acquired property to themselves, but if unsuccessful, they shelter themselves from liability by declaring that they have no individual property for the satisfaction of their debts. The facilities thus given for fraud and the restraints upon commerce owing to the feeling of insecurity so produced are grave evils which the Legislature should counteract by timely legislation.

I have said that in Europe all sons share equally, but England is the exception, and there the rule of primogeniture prevails. This rule was introduced for special reasons when great estates, generally on the border of the empire, were given over to some noble to hold, as it were, with the sword, and the peace of the interior of the country was to be preserved from the wars and raids which were constantly carried on along the marches. The necessities of the administration required powerful earls with large bodies of retainers to preserve the empire from raids and invasions, and if the earldoms were split up into fragments by the general law of inheritance the object of defence would be defeated. Hence, in the grants which were made of such estates, the person who should succeed on the death of the earl was generally indicated; naturally it would be one of the sons of the grantee, and practice, after a little uncertainty, finally fixed upon the eldest son as the successor. The convenience of this system soon became apparent, and the other barons and earls, to save their fiefs from dwindling away, began to copy this mode of inheritance which



became the rule on the Continent, but the bulk of the people resisted this innovation and maintained their ancient rule of inheritance, and in the struggles between nobles and freemen the ancient rule eventually survived. In England however the rule of primogeniture, commencing with the nobles about the time of Henry I, was copied by the lower orders and finally superseded the old rule.

In communities bound together by the ties of kindred and among whom the only distinction is the distinction of wealth, each man would have a personal interest in the affairs of the village, and would be entitled to give his opinion; and in the mark system we find that every freeman had his place in the assembly of the mark which regulated the concerns of the village partnership. It is quite probable that civil disputes and criminal offences were decided in the village court in very much the same way as such matters are now decided in the *jamats*, or caste meetings, in India; but, as far as our knowledge extends, their criminal jurisdiction was merely in the nature of police agency in the pursuit of criminals and the search for stolen goods, and civil disputes were decided in the Hundred Court, which was held once a month, and to which each town within the hundred sent its reeve and four best men to be assessors. Each village elected its own *Gerefa*, or *Patel*, and its beadle or village constables, and as every freeman had land, the slaves and strangers who had no right to land, were required to put themselves under the protection of some landholder, who became responsible for their good behaviour and for payment of the fines which they might incur. Every crime had its appropriate fine, and the system of money compensation extended even to the reconciliation of hereditary quarrels; homicide itself might be atoned for by a fine of cattle; the whole house of the slain man joined in accepting it as an indemnity, and the breach of the public peace was healed by a fixed share. A sum was placed on the life of every freeman according to his rank, and a corresponding sum on every wound that could be inflicted on his person, for

Kemble's Anglo-Saxons. nearly every injury that could be done to his civil rights, honor or peace, the sum being aggravated according to adventitious circumstances. The fine was paid to the family because society in primitive times was not a collection of individuals but an aggregation of families; individuals had no rights except as members of families, and wrongs done to them were wrongs done to the family, to whom compensation was due, and in the same way wrongs done by individuals were wrongs for which the family was responsible.

Civil disputes in an Indian village were usually settled by arbitration before a *panch* who sat under a tree or near the village

1.101, and the first act of the panch was to take a razinama, or acknowledgment of consent to arbitrate, from the parties, who gave two straws in token of submission. These straws may be symbolical of the wager laid before a Roman Court, and might represent the produce of the parties' fields; they pledged their produce, which was their only wealth, to abide by the decision of the panch. Presents were openly given to the panch for their trouble. The successful man was left to enforce the award, which he did by tagada, that is, any thing from simple importunity to placing a guard over a man, preventing "his eating," tying his "neck and heels, or making him stand on one leg with a heavy "stone on his head under a vertical sun."

An old Saxon law of King Alfred is significant. The person who has been wronged may besiege the wrong-doer in his house for seven days, but must not attack him if he will remain in-doors. If he surrenders, notice must be given to his friends and relations, and he is kept in custody until the compensation is settled. If the plaintiff is not strong enough to capture the wrong-doer, he should apply to the alderman or king, and if redress is not given, then he may fight and slay the wrong-doer. The ordeal of battle in feudal times was not an invention of that age, but apparently a survival of the primitive custom of obtaining redress by force. The ordeal by wager was an advance upon the ordeal by battle, and is similar to the Roman customs in a law-suit; it pre-supposes a long peace and a strong government which encourages arbitration instead of a resort to force, and the ordeal of wager was gradually developed into the system of law courts with Judges appointed by Government, and the wager is represented by the judgment debt and the costs of suit.

The Indian practice of sitting dharna, or fasting before a debtor's door, is apparently a survival of a much older custom. In the Vyavahar Mayukh the modes of compelling the payment by a debtor are said to be "confining his wife, his son or his cattle, or "watching constantly at his door." These modes are evidently means of retaliation and obtaining redress by force. The creditor watches at the door and seizes any of the belongings of his debtor, just as the Saxon besieged his debtor in his house in King Alfred's day. A strong Government soon puts an end to redress in these violent forms, but the custom of sitting at the door and making an outcry to compel restitution is common at this day. To sit fasting, and thus to compel the debtor to fast also, is explainable on the ground of a breach of hospitality. In Persia the creditor first sows some barley at the door and sits down in the middle, meaning to express by this form that he will stay without food until he is paid, or until the barley grows up. Dharua in India used chiefly

to be done by Brahmins, who added their personal sanctity to the weight of the custom. The Brahmin's wergild, as it might be called, the value set upon his life, was so much higher than the life of the ordinary creditor, and the penalty to be incurred in this or the next world so much greater, that Brahmins made a trade of hiring themselves out and fasting on behalf of their principals until restitution was made. Nor is this custom peculiar to India; it existed in Ireland. There too custom and Government had endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way of men obtaining redress by violence; the creditor was required to give warning to his debtor that he would retaliate by seizing his goods if he did not pay by a given time; but upon persons of distinction against whom the poor man had no power to retaliate, the Irish law provided that "fasting

Early History of Institutions, page 297.

"precedes distress in their case. He who

"does not give a pledge to fasting is an eva-

"der of all, he who disregards all things

"shall not be paid by God or man."

The laws of distress, of attachment before judgment, and of impounding stray cattle are likewise developments of the practice of obtaining redress by seizure of a debtor's property, including his women and children. As the Government grew stronger, and the administrative machinery became more perfect, restrictions were imposed upon the free exercise of the right of obtaining redress by force, and rule after rule was made, until the exercise of the right became so hampered by the rules that it slowly fell into disuse from the fear of the penalties which might be incurred by the infraction of rules.

To return to the practice of common responsibility for crimes, it follows as a matter of course that, where there was no individual and separate property, the fines which it might be necessary to pay on behalf of one of the tribe, or subsequently one of the joint family, should be paid from the common stock, and to the kindred or joint family of the deceased when the fine was for a life price or wergild. This was the practice of the Germans, as described by Tacitus, and the duties of the kindred in England are described by Stubbs. In the ancient Irish law tracts there is a passage showing that retaliation prevailed in Erin before the time of St Patrick. That every crime, even murder, can be compensated by a fixed fine, must after a time tend to great abuse, when wealth has increased and wealthy men may with impunity commit crimes, and by payment of fines which would not be felt as a loss, and hence on the conquest of Ireland by England we find the English rulers expressing abhorrence at Eric fines and declaiming against them as contrary to God's law and man's, utterly unconscious that the same practice had prevailed in early England, and had died

out some time after the Norman conquest. But, inadequate as the system of pecuniary compensation may be in a wealthy community, it was of infinite value at a period when life was held cheap, when violence and retaliation was the rule, and when money and cattle were of much more account than freeman life. These fines must originally have acted with crushing severity, until the progress of wealth and the greater sanctity of life put them out of date. This custom of family responsibility for the offences of their kin appears to have survived in the function of punishing the whole family for certain offences, such as treason, and the disgrace which even now falls on a family for the offence of one of its number. The blood of the family was considered as tainted, and banishment and forfeiture of the whole property was a necessary consequence. The custom that every landless man must have a lord, grew up from the primitive custom that every freeman had a right, from his relationship to the tribe, to the possession of land, while strangers and slaves had no such right, and were permitted to occupy on sufferance only. As all privileges and duties were confined to members of the tribe, the tribal customs could take no direct notice of strangers, except through some one of the tribe. The slave-owner was then responsible for the slave, and strangers were required to find some freeman who would undertake to be their surety. The possession of land was the index of freedom, but cases occurred where freemen had no land, and they were then treated as strangers without land, and required to find a surety. In return for the patronage afforded, the patron received certain services and dues from his client, and exercised some control over him.

This custom was fixed as a law by Athelstan, and confirmed by Edgar. Canute also enacted it, and decreed that the hundreds should be divided into 10 parts, or tithings, that every man should have his place in a tithing. This was apparently devised for the convenience of police administration, since there was an obligation upon the hundred and the tithing to pursue and capture thieves. Edward the Confessor fused these customs together.

The practice of making the hundred responsible continued after the Norman conquest, with this amendment, that a person found slain within the hundred was presumed to be a Norman, and a heavy fine levied from the hundred, unless they could prove that the deceased was an Englishman.

Turn to the description of the village police in India to be found in Elphinstone's Report:—"The Patel is responsible for the police of his village, he is aided by his Khulkarui and Changala, and "when the occasion requires it, by all the inhabitants." The Mahars, or "Jaglias and Dheds, are the village watchmen and detect-

“ives, and in the event of a theft committed within the village bounds, it is his business to detect the thief. It is very common for him to track a thief by his footsteps, and if he does this to another village so as to satisfy the watchman there, or if he otherwise traces the property to an adjoining village, his responsibility ends, and it is the duty of the watchman of the new village to take up the pursuit. The last village to which the thief has been clearly traced becomes answerable for the property stolen, which would otherwise fall on the village where the robbery was committed. The watchman is obliged to make up this amount as far as his means go, and the remainder is levied on the whole village.” Elphinstone remarks on this practice, that if the great secret of police be to engage many people in the prevention and punishment of crime, it will not perhaps be easy to find a measure more advisable. It was adopted by our own early lawgivers, and is not less suited to the state of society in India than it was in England under Alfred.

We have thus been able to see how great a part the idea of blood relationship has played in the formation of early groups of society. Wherever we look, the first indication of social life begins with the family group gradually expanding into the tribes; we see with what suspicion and distrust one tribe regards another and an alien tribe as something more cruel and cunning than wild beasts, and to be guarded against accordingly. The Jews, divided into twelve tribes, trace up their origin to twelve brothers. The German tribe, connected by blood, settles into a village and makes a dismal waste round it to protect itself from surprise. As some central authority grows up and social life becomes less suspicious, strangers are admitted into the village, but admitted jealously and kept down under hard conditions and aloof from the life of the men of pure descent. In India the same isolation of tribes in villages is visible, and the same jealousy of the stranger who cannot be admitted into the commune villages without consent, the right of pre-emption among villagers, the obligation to sell to one of the tribe before a stranger, and the privileges of the older settlers, the mirasdars, the bhagdars and others over the strangers. In Rome the citizens of the victorious city were tenacious of their privileges, and dignity, and grudgingly admitted strangers to their privileges. To be a citizen of Rome was to be of kin to the descendants of a long line of heroes, and the dignity carried with it its proper privileges. We see the power of the Roman father over his family and his slaves to be the same as the power of the German and Hindu father. Everywhere we see tribal property with its periodical re-divisions fading into private property; in Western Europe the change completed, in Eastern Europe and in India the change still progressing and

in almost every stage of development, from the advanced position of the Bengal provinces to the partial communes of Oude and Gujerat, and the almost primitive condition of parts of Arcot and of North Gujerat. Throughout the German marks and the Indian villages can be observed the equality of all men of pure descent. The introduction of slaves and strangers introduced the first idea of difference of rank as indicating difference in descent; the introduction of private property produced differences in wealth, and wealth becomes the origin of nobility among Germans and Celts; but among Hindus nobility attaches itself to the idea of a warrior caste, the Khatriyas, and still more to a privileged priesthood, the Brahmans. In its criminal practice the joint responsibility of the Indian village for thefts traced to it is the same as the joint responsibility of the relatives of the German offender to pay the wergild due for the offence; while everywhere in Europe and India the succession to the family property is strictly equal among the sons, England alone furnishing the exception of adopting primogeniture, a practice copied from a military rule.

W. R. HAMILTON.

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## ART. VI.—KHELAT.

THE present Government at home proceeds steadily and surely with its plan of divesting itself of all relations and responsibilities beyond our immediate frontier. It is far from improbable that our garrison in Belooch territory at Quetta, and our political agency at Khelat will, in due time, share the fate of Kandahar and the Khurram, and that we shall ere long resume what some one has been pleased to call 'our giant repose' along the banks of the Indus. However that may be, the geographical position of Beloochistan vests it with sufficient importance to warrant our giving some account of its past history and present relations with the Indian Government.

The first ruler of Khelat known to history is Abdulla Khan, a chief who was early checked in a career of victory by death on the field of battle in attempting the conquest of Sind. His son Mohubbut Khan attached himself, in 1730, to the famous Nadir Shah, when that monarch annexed Kandahar; and he accompanied his forces in the invasion of Hindustan. On Nadir Shah's return Mohubbut's services were rewarded, at the expense of the rulers of Sind, by the transfer to Khelat of the Sind district of Gundava, now traversed by the Bolan railway. On Nadir Shah's death in 1747, all his subject chiefs and generals scrambled for the fragments of his empire. Mohubbut Khan attempted to get a slice of Kandahar, but Nadir's Afghan general, Ahmed Khan Abdali, was too prompt for him, and, after possessing himself of the whole of Afghanistan and being proclaimed king, he invaded Khelat, deposed Mohubbut Khan, and replaced him by his younger brother Nasseer Khan.

Nasseer Khan was a faithful vassal for many years of the great Ahmed Shah. He accompanied him in two campaigns undertaken for the conquest of Khorassan, the easternmost province of Persia. The Belooch contingent was in the forefront of two bloody battles fought in these campaigns; and it was Nasseer Khan's brilliant generalship which saved the remnants of Ahmed Shah's army on 'the disastrous termination of the first, and secured the success of the second, campaign. For this he was confirmed in his government of Khelat and received as a gift the district of Quetta or Shâl, the gift being represented as a shawl, or khillat, for his mother, Bibi Miriam, then in Ahmed Shah's camp. Nasseer Khan appears at first not to have accompanied Ahmed Shah to Hindustan; on the contrary, on rumours of disasters having befallen the monarch there, he rebelled, and succeeded in defeating one of Ahmed Shah's generals who marched to reduce him. Indeed,

Ahmed Shah himself, though he defeated the Belooches in the field and besieged Nasseer Khan in Khelat, found it prudent to make terms rather than to drive so able a chief to extremity; so he accepted his submission on the terms of his supplying a contingent for service against a foreign enemy. He was exempted from paying tribute, but was to give his niece in marriage to Ahmed Shah's son, and to accompany that monarch to Hindustan. This he did, and he so distinguished himself at Muttra as to receive from Ahmed Shah a further grant of the districts of Hurrund and Dajil, now included in our frontier collectorate of Dera Ghazi Khan.

Nasseer Khan survived both the first kings of the Durani dynasty, and before his death, in 1793, he added to his dominions by conquering the maritime province of Mekran, and by wresting from the Amirs of Sind the important town and harbour of Karachi. At last he died, full of years and honors, after an eventful reign of nearly half a century. This was the palmy period of Khelat history. From the time of the death of this able Chief the little State, which had made head against such powerful neighbours as Persia, Sind and Afghanistan, entered, like the last-named, upon a course of steady decline. The cause was the same in Beloochistan as in Cabul. The founders of the dynasties were dependent for prestige, for popularity, for the very means of paying their armies and maintaining their courts, upon foreign conquests. Their successors, who did not possess the necessary ability for such conquests, or who were not sufficiently favored by circumstances to attempt them with success, were soon in straits for the means of satisfying a people who were little disposed to be content to starve peacefully in their barren hills. Hence disturbances at home and disasters abroad; Karachi was reconquered by the Talpurs of Sind; Mekran threw off the Khelat yoke; a brother of the Khan declared himself independent in Hurrund and Dajil; a cousin raised a rebellion and marched on Khelat; the Afghan Kakurs overran the valley of Shâl and sacked Quetta; the tribes of Minguls and others in the south refused obedience, and infested the road from the capital to the sea-port of Sunmiani. Karachi and Mekran could not be recovered, but Mihmood, the son of Nasseer Khan, was not utterly destitute of his father's energy. He defeated and captured his cousin; overthrew his brother and recovered Hurrund and Dajil; chastised the Minguls; and checked the Kakurs. Like his connection Mihmood Shah at Cabul, he managed, after a fashion, to keep his kingdom together, though it suffered greatly in power and revenue. But after a reign of 23 years he was succeeded by his son, Mihrab Khan, under whom the kingdom of Khelat reached a depth of degradation as low as that into which it has fallen under the present Khan.



At first Mihrab Khan did well. He displayed considerable energy, conciliated his chiefs and collected large tribal forces with which he again reduced the province of Mekran. His father's rebellious cousin (grandson of the Mohubbut Khan deposed in favor of Nasseer Khan) had left a son who raised no less than four successive insurrections, all of which Mihrab Khan vigorously put down, and after the last of which he put his irrepressible relative to death. In fact, Mihrab Khan bid fair, could he only have found an outlet for his energies, to rival his renowned grandfather. But where was he to turn his arms? Sind was a powerful kingdom which it would have been madness to provoke; on the other side the Kajar dynasty of Persia was still in its early vigor. Kandahar was held by the energetic Barukzai brothers, who would only have been too glad of an excuse to descend upon the coveted districts of Shâl and Mastoong, and who were much too strong for Mihrab to entertain any hope of advantage in attacking them. Debarred thus from an external sphere for his energies, Mihrab fell back upon the attempt at a Richelieu policy at home. He possessed a minister quite ready to undertake the part, one Daood, an Afghan adventurer. The result was a combination of his subjects against Mihrab Khan, to which he had to submit, and to accord them a sort of Magna Charta; but he revenged himself by attempting to set the various tribes by the ears, a course evidently ill-calculated to strengthen the kingdom against external attack. Consequently in 1828-29, the chief of Kandahar twice marched into Khelat and extorted tribute from Mihrab Khan; in 1830, Hurrund and Dajil were lost to the Khan of Bahawalpur; in 1829 and 1831 the Khan failed in two attempts to reduce Mekran, which had rebelled in the former year; and by 1834 his authority did not extend beyond the immediate limits of the town and district of Khelat.

In the last-named year Mihrab Khan, notwithstanding the condition of weakness to which he was reduced, ventured to give asylum to Shah Shuja, flying from the battle-field of Kandahar; and to bid defiance, in defence of his guest, to the forces of the Barukzai brothers who had advanced in victorious pursuit right up to the walls of Khelat. They respected his resolution and withdrew, and the Shah retired safely to Sind—to return four years later under protection of a British army and then to render a sorry return for Mihrab Khan's generous hospitality by permitting the British to dismember the Khelat state and slay its chief, in his name. From 1834 to 1838, in which latter year our connexion with Beloochistan commenced, the condition of affairs in Khelat went from bad to worse. By the latter year the Khan's authority was entirely lost in the south and west of the State. His efforts to

coerce each recusant tribe by means of another, naturally failed of success. His Belooch subjects, the Murrees and Boogtees, north of the Bolan pass, had entirely thrown off their allegiance since 1824, and, though he deputed against them successively each of the great chiefs of the Brahoid confederacy, their efforts were made without zeal and without result.

It must be understood that in Beloochistan still survives, almost in its integrity, the original form out of which all the sovereignties of the earth have sprung. A number of shepherd tribes of common origin established themselves, some four hundred years ago, in possession of the tract that now goes by that name, extending for four hundred miles from Quetta to the sea, and four hundred miles from the Persian frontier to that of Sind. One of these tribes, called Kamberari, apparently took the lead in the movement, and the chief of that tribe thus obtained precedence among his fellows, and was called the Khan. The Brahoid movement, which much resembled that of the Israelites, was followed by a similar division of the conquered country among the various septs. These territorial divisions, in 1838, when we appeared upon the scene, were some eleven in number, each under a separate and independent chief, of whom the most important were those of Sarawan and Jhallawan. The former province includes Quetta, our frontier post towards Kandahar and Khelat, the seat of Government of the Khan. Jhallawan, to the south, extends down the Sind frontier almost to the parallel of Karachi, but is separated from the sea by the maritime province of Las, under a chief called the Jam of Las Beyla (of whom we used to hear a good deal some years ago), and containing the seaports of Sumiani and Ormaza, known to those who travel up the Persian Gulf by the British India line. Mekran to the west of Las is another maritime province, with the seaport of Kej. Both of these provinces, however, are better known as being traversed by our line of telegraph through Persia than for the importance of their seaports. The remaining provinces, all under practically independent chiefs, are of little note. The total population is about a million and a half.

The Brahoid polity, then, consists of the Khan, or chief of the royal tribe, with two hereditary co-adjutors, the chiefs of Sarawan and Jhallawan. He has also a minister, which office, too, is hereditary in the family of one Mulla Mahomed, who was Wazir when this constitution was first established. The other chiefs of provinces are also a sort of hereditary councillors, whose concurrence is necessary in questions of peace and war, and whose voices are required in the election of the Khan himself. A curious feature of this polity is that the chiefships are all elective. For instance, the three great offices of state, the Khanate, and the two co-adjutorships,

pertain to the Chiefs of the Kambarari tribe, and to the Chiefs of Sarawan and Jhallawan; but these chiefdoms are not, theoretically at any rate, hereditary in any family, nor, similarly, are any of the other chiefships hereditary. Each tribe elects its chief, subject to the sanction of the existing Khan; and, similarly when the Khanate is vacant, the Kambararis are supposed to elect a chief, subject to the approval of all the other chiefs. When duly elected the Kambarari chief becomes Khan by virtue of his position, as do the chiefs of Sarawan and Jhallawan, by virtue of their positions, become co-adjutors in the government. The ministry is the only position in the Brahui polity, which is hereditary in a family. Practically, the chief of the Kambararis succeeds, and becomes Khan, in ordinary course of succession, as, indeed, do all the chiefs of tribes; and the rights of election, and sanction of elections of chiefs by the Khan, or approval of election of Khan by the chiefs, have fallen into disuse. The existence, however, of such provisions in the constitution has been a fertile source of trouble in the Brahui commonwealth, more especially in the time of the present Khan. The hereditary nature of the office of Wazir has also been a cause of evil to the state.

It was evident that, under such a constitution as we have described, the head of the State could not look for a minister among a brotherhood, each member of which considered himself as good as the Khan. It was to meet this difficulty that a hereditary Wazir was provided from among the original Tajik population conquered by the Brahuis (who continued to reside among them as a subject race). But in consequence of the office being hereditary, it would happen that the incumbent was not always such a man as the reigning Khan might approve. Thus, there soon sprung up round the Khans a body of clients or hereditary servants, called *Khanehzads*, who furnished the advisers and devoted instruments that rulers in the position of the Khans of *Khelat* must require; and to whom the Khan could confidently entrust the management of Crown estates and the administration of conquered territories. The rank and file of these clients formed the bodyguard of the Khans and the elite of the irregular armies of tribal levies which they led to the field.

The troubles of *Mihrab Khan's* reign began by his falling out with his hereditary Wazir. One *Daood*, a personal retainer of the Khan, usurped the Wazir's authority, and eventually murdered him with the Khan's connivance. When *Daood's* attempts to break the power of the chiefs led to a combination for his expulsion, and the Khan would not abandon him, the chiefs actually proceeded to the exercise of a constitutional right in deposing *Mihrab* and

electing a successor. The Khan was rescued, and the combination for the time broken up, by the clever manœuvring of another Khanchazad retainer—one Gul Mahomed, who for thirty years afterwards played a very conspicuous part in Khelat politics. Eventually, with Gul Mahomed's assistance, Daood was overthrown and put out of the way by the son of the hereditary minister he had murdered, who then took up his father's office. But the Khan's infatuation for Daood had, during nine years, brought the kingdom to the point of disorganisation described in previous paragraphs, and the hereditary minister, embittered against the Khan by the circumstances of his father's death, had apparently no will to mend matters. When we came upon the scene in 1838, we found the Khan at variance with all his nobles, with an ill-disposed minister, and a confidant, Gul Mahomed, blindly devoted to his interests, but unable to see where they lay.

Under such circumstances it is no wonder that Mihrab Khan got into trouble with ourselves. When the army of the Indus was about to enter the Bolan pass, Lieut. Leech was sent to Khelat to enlist the assistance of the Khan for his suzerain Shah Shuja to purchase supplies and forage for the troops, and to arrange for a meeting between the Khan and the Shah. Mihrab Khan agreed to all Lieut. Leech's proposals, but his treacherous minister, and his short-sighted retainer Gul Mahomed, were both, for different reasons, determined he should have no connection with the British; so Lieut. Leech's purchased stores were all plundered and lost in conveyance to Quetta. On this Sir Alexander Burnes was deputed to bring the Khan, who was of course credited by us with double-dealing, to reason; and to conclude a treaty with him. The Khan again agreed to everything, and Sir Alexander, leaving a Native Agent at Khelat, was returning to Quetta with the treaty in his pocket when he was met by supposed emissaries of the Khan's, and the treaty taken from him. The Native Agent, shortly after, also thought it prudent to retire from Khelat. After the storming of Khelat, it became known from evidence found there, that this act, like the plundering of Lieut. Leech's stores, was that of the minister and Gul Mahomed, who at the same time deterred the Khan from proceeding to Quetta to meet the Shah, as he had promised Burnes to do, by persuading him that this was only a trap laid for him by the British.

It may well be supposed that, after this, the Khan's punishment was determined on, and did not long tarry. The Bombay Brigade, on its way back from Cabul to India, was directed, on arrival at Quetta, to march against Khelat. The distance is only 100 miles, and Mihrab Khan, little expecting attack, had no time to call the tribes to his aid; nor is it certain that, in the relations

then existing, they would have answered his call. He shut himself up in the town of Khelat with 2,000 men, his immediate clients and retainers, and his tribesmen from the neighbouring villages,—having first sent away his son with Gul Mahomed to the district of Nooshky. General Willshire had only 1,000 bayonets all told, but he did not hesitate to storm, and succeeded in carrying the town with a loss of nearly 200 men. The resistance was not *à outrance*, but the Belooches lost, nevertheless, four hundred killed, and the Khan himself fell, like a stout Belooch chief, in the forefront of the battle, with his faithful clients round him.

We now hunted up and placed on the throne the son of that rebellious relative, mentioned as having been put to death by Mihrab Khan, after much forbearance, in the early part of his reign. And we left a master with him in the person of a Lieut. Loveday. This officer and the new Khan marched into Nooshky to seize Mihrab Khan's son, and, failing to find him, they treated the Mingul tribe inhabiting that district with much severity. Gul Mahomed and the young Nasseer Khan (Mihrab's son) had meanwhile passed into Mastoong, a district of Sarawan near Quetta, where the people rose in their favor. They were immediately joined in rebellion, by the tribes of Nooshky, Kharan, Mushky, and Baghwau, districts which the new Khan of Khelat and Lieut. Loveday had traversed in their search for Nasseer Khan. This was in June 1840; but in the previous month the Murrees and Boogtees, hitherto Mihrab Khan's most rebellious subjects, had already risen in his son's favor; they had disastrously defeated two British detachments, and had beleaguered a third in the town of Kahun, where they compelled them to surrender, under Captain Brown, admitting them, however, to honorable terms. The Brahoe insurgents first laid siege to our detachment in Quetta, but, failing there, turned their attention in August to Khelat itself, which was surrendered by the new Khan after a weak defence, and young Nasseer Khan again obtained possession of the throne of his ancestors.

The Belooches now proceeded to make a series of attacks upon Lehri, Dadur, and other small posts, and upon detachments of troops marching across the plain of Gundava or through the Bolan pass. Their defeats were, however, frequent, and their advantages slight and temporary. In one of these affairs the body of Lieut. Loveday was recovered, still warm, he having just before been murdered to prevent his release. It was not till November 1840 that we were able to resume the offensive, when General Nott reoccupied Khelat without resistance; Nasseer Khan taking refuge in the hills, whence he maintained his guerilla warfare with some success. He was, however, surprised and utterly

defeated, with the loss of 500 men, in the month of December; after which his followers broke up and fled to their respective hill fortresses. After long negotiations the Belooches were eventually brought to terms, and, in July 1841, Nasseer Khan surrendered, on the understanding that he should eventually be restored to the throne. This was done on the 6th October 1841, by a treaty which, as modified in 1854, is still the basis of our relations with Khelat—under which we now occupy Quetta and maintain a British Agent at Khelat. By this treaty, moreover, the Khan is bound to keep open the Bolan pass, on account of which, and for freeing the traffic from transit dues, he receives a subsidy of a lakh of rupees per annum. Nevertheless, though we obtained a right under this treaty to garrison his country and to maintain a British Agent there, still it was 35 years before we considered it requisite to exercise this right.

In October 1841 Hussain Khan, son of the unfortunate Mhrab Khan, acceded to the throne under the style of Nasseer Khan the Second. Gundava and Mastoong, two districts which we had taken away from Khelat, were restored by the treaty then executed, which also provided for the admission of a British Agent, and of British troops whenever considered requisite by our Government, and for fealty to Shah Shuja. In the following year this treaty became obsolete on Shah Shuja's death, and our withdrawal from Cabul. Nasseer Khan then recovered Shal or Quetta from Kandahar, and held his own without difficulty against the divided councils of the Barukzais. After this our connexion with him entirely ceased till after the annexation of Sind; when the marauding of his Belooch subjects, the Murrees and Boogtees upon the Sind frontier caused Sir Charles Napier to lead an expedition against them in 1845, and to thoroughly efface, by the chastisement which he inflicted, the remembrance of the Murree successes against our detachments in 1841. Sir Charles Napier visited both Kahun and Deyra, the Murree and Boogtee capitals, and made a considerable stay in the country, till both tribes were thoroughly humbled. This is the only method of conducting an expedition against hill tribes, and a hurried progress like that just conducted by General Macgregor through the Murree country is perfectly without effect. This has been the secret of the failure of so many of our punitive expeditions. If our force is insufficient, as at Ambeyla in 1863, it meets a resistance which places it in serious peril, or, at any rate, detracts greatly from our prestige. If, on the contrary, the force is in ample strength, as in the Black Mountain campaign of 1868, the expedition becomes a mere military promenade; the offending tribes keep carefully out of its way, and it makes no more impres-

sion than a ship passing through water. Indeed, the simile often holds good so far that the tribes close in on its wake as it leaves the country. An expedition, like General Macgregor's passing through the Murree hills, leaves no trace. To effect any good, it must stay there as Sir Charles Napier did. It must actually occupy the villages and the fields and the pastures, and keep the recusant inhabitants who have betaken themselves with their women and their flocks and their herds to the recesses of the mountains,—out in the cold, till privations have broken their spirit and they are reduced to submission.

By 1854, however, these tribes had again become troublesome. The fact is that there is no means of subsistence for a population of about 100,000 souls in the savage sterile tract known as the Murree and Boogtee hills. The people are therefore driven to plunder for a livelihood, unless provided with other means of support. In 1847 a regular administration had been established on the Sind border under the well-known General John Jacob, then Major Jacob. He raised a force of Sind horse and Sind rifles, settled himself on the desert frontier at a place he called Jacobabad, dug a canal from the Indus and turned the wilderness into a garden. He established strong outposts along the frontier, and so effectually checked the Belooch inroads that population and cultivation were restored to a tract which the Belouches and drought, between them, had turned into a waste. He also opened relations with Nasseer Khan, with whom he soon became on very friendly terms. His object was to do something for the security of the Bolan pass trade, for the Murrees and Boogtees, unable to plunder safely on the Sind frontier, had redoubled their inroads on the side of the pass, and of the Cutchee of Gundava. Nasseer Khan would probably have, in any case, been ready to meet Jacob half way in this matter, for the Cutchee of Gundava interests all the Brahoes. When Gundava was bestowed upon Mohuabut Khan by Nadir Shah, the gift was one which, under the Brahoi constitution before described, interested the Khan, as chief of the Kamberaris, only. He could never have called out the tribal levies for its defence, and it would soon have been recovered by the Amirs of Sind. So Nasseer Khan the First interested the whole of the Brahois in its defence by allotting to all the tribes shares in this lowland tract. Since then, they are all in the habit of migrating thither in the winter with their flocks and herds, and, consequently, the security of the Cutchee was as important to Nasseer Khan and the heads of the Brahoi confederacy, as to the British Government, which was only interested in the safety of the Bolan trade which traverses that tract. This is the explanation of the readiness with which Nasseer Khan executed a treaty in 1854, whereby he again undertook the lapsed obligations

of the treaty of 1841, for the acceptance of a Resident, and even the admission of British garrisons when desired by us,—in consideration of a subsidy which enabled him to manage the Murrees and Boogtees. He engaged for this to keep them from plundering in our territory, to protect traffic through his own, and to reduce transit duties through the Bolan to eight annas per maund. It is under these obligations that the Government of the Khan receives one lakh of rupees per annum. The first is not onerous for we can and do protect ourselves, but undoubtedly the safety of the Bolan and the Cutchce from Murree raiders is only procurable by the Khan by a happy mixture of force and persuasion, both of which ultimately mean money—in the shape of stipends and jagirs to the Murree chiefs, and posts established in the Murree country.

We before referred to the peculiar institution of Khanehzad officials in the Brahoi polity. We mentioned how one of these, Gul Mahomed Khan, saved Mihrab Khan from death or dethronement in 1827, and that his short-sighted attachment to his master caused the rupture with the British in 1838. How highly his devotion was appreciated, may be judged from Mihrab's intrusting to him his son to be taken to a place of safety, while the Khan himself prepared to resist to the death when the British expedition of 1839 approached the town of Khelat. We have seen how Gul Mahomed fulfilled his trust; how, with his young charge, he evaded Lieutenant Loveday's pursuit through Nooshky and Kharan, and how, leaving that officer to follow a false scent southwards, he turned east and appeared at the head of an insurrection in Mastoong between Quetta and Khelat. It is evident that a man who had been entrusted, so to speak, with the guardianship of Nasseer Khan's boyhood; who had played so prominent a part in the occurrences of 1841; who had mainly contributed to recovering for him Khelat; and who, when General Nott's approach compelled his flight, maintained and kept in heart the tribal risings which, during ten months, so harassed our tenure of Khelat that, in the end of 1841, we restored Nasseer Khan to the throne;—evidently such a man would not consent to sink into the background before the rising influence of General Jacob. Had not Gul Mahomed plunged his country into all the miseries of 1839, had he not brought about his master's death, sooner than let him fall under the influence of the British; sooner than see him in the position which men then despised Shah Shuja for occupying?

As General Jacob's influence became stronger and stronger in Khelat affairs, after 1854, as his ascendancy increased over the intelligent and far-sighted Nasseer Khan, so burned fiercer the old Khanehzad smothered resentment till it conquered his affection for the ward, the almost foster-child of twenty years. At last, in



May 1857, Nasseer Khan died by poison. Gul Mahomed's plans were already laid. Nasseer Khan had a young half-brother, the present Khan Khodadad, a boy of 16, who had never left the zenana, and whom it would be easy for Gul Mahomed to rule by the gratification of his passions. The election of this nominee by a prompt assembly of the Brahoi chiefs shut out the rival claims of a brother and a nephew of Mihrab Khan, and of one Futteh Khan, the brother of our nominee of 1839. It also precluded our interference. Nevertheless, the British had already become indispensable; Khodadad's Khanate would not long have remained unchallenged without our support, which we accordingly extended and secured his throne. In return for this support we claimed the right to advise, and General Jacob's first demand was for the expulsion of Gul Mahomed Khan, who was thus effectually hoisted with his own petard.

Nevertheless, before Gul Mahomed left, he rendered the Khan a service after his own fashion. In 1827, when Mihrab Khan, facing a rising *en-masse* of the Brahois against his favorite minister Daood Ghilji, had been deserted, by most of his forces and had fallen into the rebels' hands, they actually proceeded to the election of his successor. Gul Mahomed, however, had possession of Khelat, in which town was the family of the Khan elect. He exchanged this for his master's life, and, no sooner had he got Mihrab Khan in safety within the walls, than he closed the gates and bombarded the national assembly, which presently dispersed. In September 1857, the chiefs who had recently elected Khodadad Khan, assembled at Khelat in pursuance of what is, at any rate in the Brahoi polity, a constitutional method of interference in the affairs of State. They wanted, no doubt, to obtain concessions from their nominee. Gul Mahomed, however, closed the gates of the town and bombarded them till they dispersed, and, though he was promptly banished for this, under instructions from the Bombay Government, nevertheless the breach between the Khan and the chief remained irreparable. Indeed, Gul Mahomed himself ere long returned privately to Khelat, and he exercised an evil fluence over Khodadad up to the day of his death—some years later.

From 1857 up to the present time the chiefs of Beloochistan have been more or less in rebellion. In 1858 the mediation of our political agent induced the Chiefs of Sarawan and Jhallawan to march against Mekran, which had thrown off its allegiance to the Khan. On their return they claimed his promise of redress for their grievances; but the Khan remained deaf to the remonstrances of the Bombay Government, and it was at last determined to withdraw from him the British support. Nevertheless, General Jacob determined upon a last effort to render him useful, and persuaded

the Chiefs to march under the orders of the Khan against the Murrees and Boogtees,—who had resumed the depredations checked in 1854 by Major Merewether, who overtook in the plains and destroyed an entire body of the latter tribe, 600 strong. The expedition was successful and brought the Murrees to terms. Khodadad Khan renewed to them the allowances given by his brother out of the British subsidy, established forts in their country, and brought away hostages of both tribes. But the arrangement fell through on General Jacob's death in December 1857. Soon after, the Khan neglected to pay the allowances, the hostages escaped, and the Murrees and Boogtees again threw off their allegiance, defying an expedition which the Khan again led against them in 1862. Meanwhile, in 1861, the chiefs again went into rebellion, and, in 1863, they succeeded at last in deciding on united action, deposed the Khan, and elected a successor, his cousin Sher Dil, who captured Khelat and cut down Khodadad Khan with his own hand.

Khodadad Khan, however, recovered from his wound and received asylum with one of the minor chiefs, till his successor, in his turn, fell out with the Jhallawan chief who had placed him on the throne. In June 1864, Sher Dil was murdered, and Khodadad then recovered his throne, but was found to have learnt nothing from experience except the necessity of providing for his own safety. With the British subsidy he raised a body-guard of mercenary troops 2,000 strong; and he found an able minister in the Shahghazi Walli Mahomed, a Khanehzad, whose father had fallen by the side of Mihrab Khan at the storm of Khelat. This minister, with a trained force at command, was soon quite the master of tribal risings. In February 1865, Sarawan, Jhallawan and the southern districts rose simultaneously, but Walli Mahomed fell upon them before they could combine, and defeated them in detail. The Jhallawan chief, who had dethroned Khodadad two years before, was taken prisoner, and, not long after, died in confinement. The Chief of Sarawan fled to Kandahar. The Jam of Las Bela also fell into the Khan's hands, but was pardoned and released. On the death of the Jhallawan chief, the Khan violated the Brahmi constitution by nominating his own son to the chieftship, which immediately produced another insurrection. This was again put down, but later, in 1869, the Jam of Las Bela rose and obtained some success. All the southern tribes joined him. They assembled the council of the confederacy and drew up a sort of petition of right, to obtain a hearing for which they marched upon Khelat.

This petition enumerated all the violations of the constitution of which Khodadad had been guilty; the confiscation of estates; the entire retention of the subsidy in which all the chiefs had a

claim to share ; the nomination of the Khan's son to the chiefship of Jhallawan ; the exclusion of the chiefs from the State councils and the administration of the Government entirely through Khanehzad officials. The British Agent offered his 'mediation, stopped the march of the tribes, and invited the leaders to a conference at Khelat. They were however waylaid en-route, one of their number killed and three wounded. On this the rebels marched upon Khelat ; but the Khan moved out to meet them at the head of his mercenaries, and his resolute attitude, and the endeavours of the Political Agent, induced the tumultuary gathering to disperse. But the Political Agent again failed to persuade the Khan to make good the engagements he had undertaken for the restoration of confiscated estates, so the chiefs of the South again determined to try the fortune of war. This time, however, Wulli Mahomed attacked them before they could concentrate, and utterly routed them. The Jam escaped to British territory, and his chiefship was confiscated. The other chiefs went into hiding. While, however, Wulli Mahomed was detained in the South, Sarawan again rose. The minister returned in haste and inflicted on the rebels a final defeat, in 1871, the last occasion on which they have appeared in arms.

For meanwhile the British, finding the Khan incapable of managing the Murrees and Boogtees, and that these latter could not be deterred from their predatory livelihood by repressive measures alone, opened direct negotiations with them, which gradually proceeded to further interference in the relations between the Khan and all other insurgents. The objects in view were at first the protection of British interests only, *viz.*, the security of our border from raids, and the security of trade through Khelat territory. It was soon seen that the Khan was violent and incapable, but that his minister was an able man ; the British therefore endeavoured to work through the minister. This soon brought him under the Khan's displeasure, and he sought to remove him, but was prevented by us. On this the Khan attempted his life, whereupon the British Agent at Khelat withdrew from that place, taking with him the minister, under British protection. The Khan then tried to govern for himself, but finding himself still hampered by the opposition of his chiefs, he invited six of them to a banquet, at which he murdered them all. The Brahois, infuriated at this treachery, were again on the point of rising, when our Government sent the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan to summon all parties down to Sind for an authoritative settlement by the British Government of their future relations. Under this arrangement Khelat is now administered by a Governor-General's Agent, through the minister Wulli Mahomed, and in consultation

with the principal chiefs of tribes. The Khan is practically put on one side, and no one who saw that promising chieftain at Delhi in 1877, and who is acquainted with the facts we have now related, can be otherwise than thankful that he has been thus gently shelved.

Beloochistan is, consequently, now happy and comfortable under British administration. But the question is whether it is desirable that we should undertake thus to administer every native State on our frontiers in which a chief and his barons cannot agree. The late Sir William Merewether, Commissioner of Sind, is believed to have been strongly averse to the present arrangement, and certainly there is much to be said against it. In substituting the government of a British officer for that of the Khan, we have brought matters no nearer a real settlement, in the event of our ever withdrawing from our anomalous position of unauthorised interference. Whenever we withdraw, and under the general retrograde policy of the present Government, such a step seems probable in the near future, the Khan and his chiefs will have to decide the terms on which the Government shall be carried on. If his rule remains as intolerable as it has hitherto been, he will be removed, in all probability, and his son set up in his place under guardianship of the minister. At any rate, whatever the settlement, if it is to be one satisfactory to the Brahois, then the Brahois must be left to make it. A Punjab Deputy Commissioner cannot always appear on the stage, as a *Deus ex machina*, to keep the disputants from each other's throats; nor, as it appears, will he always have a strong British garrison present in Khelat territory to support his authority. As we have seen, former British Agents did not attain this authority, but then we had not a force at Quetta. If the Quetta force were withdrawn, the Agent would probably have also to reckon on a stiffer attitude in both the Khan and his barons. Or if the great personal influence of the present Agent enabled him, while he remained, to keep matters on their present agreeable footing, nevertheless he will not always be there, and the system adopted should be one capable of management by any Agent, and not dependent upon personal prestige.

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**ART. VII.—*Military Deductions to be drawn from the late Campaigns in Afghanistan.* By a Retired LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, BENGAL ARMY.**

[\* \* This is the subject for this year for the Prize Medal of the United Service Institution, and the following paper, which goes over the entire military ground, was originally designed for the competition :—]

**I.**

**T**HE late Afghan campaigns are fruitful in supplying us with numerous military lessons. Even mere savages like the Zulus may sometimes teach us a lesson, but the Afghans are one of the most military races in Asia. They have not only their old oriental civilisation, and have warred for centuries, and often successfully, with their neighbours ; but even during this century have fought Sikh armies disciplined by French generals. In this last war with us, they have shown themselves foemen not unworthy of our steel. If anything, they seem to have improved in the art of war since the campaigns of 1838-42. It is not in our view here to enlarge on the causes of their numerous defeats. Suffice it to be recorded to their credit, that were the numerous tribes who are ever cutting each other's throats, and making a fixed and stable government all but impossible, only united, disciplined, armed with modern arms, and led by half a dozen English or German officers, no army that any Power could bring against them, could conquer them or occupy their difficult, rugged, and mountainous country. There are also often lessons to be learnt from reverses ; and hence, too, the late war is fruitful in military deductions from such actual reverses, as our arms sustained during the prolonged contest.

Before, however, we proceed to consider these lessons, it is necessary to notice the peculiar impress of the late war from a military point of view :—

(1.) On our side it was an invasion. We invaded the country. On their side it was a defence: they defended themselves as doubtless they best could. In this the secret of much of the actual character and results of the war lies. Entrenched as they may be said to have been in a country which is in itself a vast natural fortress, as defenders from attack and invasion, the Afghans were in a far more favorable position, and one to fight more effectually than we, as invaders. It is true that we had first-class generals, taught in the latest improvements of the art of war, supplied with the

latest resources of warfare and arms of rapidity and precision, crack regiments with high traditions,—all these with discipline and an exhaustless store ready of the ammunitions of war, and what is of more importance, of money, and that they had, comparatively speaking, almost nothing of these. Poor to a proverb, with rude and limited resources in turning out arms and ammunition; with a mere surface veneer of discipline which fell to pieces on the least shock; hardly united even by the common bond of fanaticism; with a comparatively small population to furnish recruits; without high traditions; with rude arms of ancient dates; without any efficient instruction in the art of war; and without first-class military leaders. All this is incontestibly true; but the fact of their acting the part of defence and we of attack brought the two parties more to a level.

(2.) It ought also to be remembered that we were prepared with our armies to enter their country at once, when the result of Sir Neville Chamberlain's Mission to the Ameer Shere Ali became known, and it is not at all certain that he was prepared to repel an invasion from different points; or that he even anticipated actual war. To be prepared is to command success, and to be unprepared, or to be taken unawares, is to ensure defeat. This point, then, was entirely in our favor and against them.

(3.) The difficult nature of the country in which the operations were carried on, was such as to bring the two parties more to a level. Troops, inured to a plain country, find it difficult readily to adapt themselves to rugged and mountainous lands, and greater demands are also made on their powers of physical endurance. A march of twenty miles in parts of Afghanistan is actually more difficult to accomplish, and more trying than one of two hundred miles in most parts of India.

(4.) The distance of our armies from their bases of supplies, entailing long lines of communications, too, was a point which told unfavorably for us, and in favor of the Afghans. Half of our armies were constantly engaged in guarding the lines of communication, or in punitive expeditions. These expeditions, in which the strength of armies was frittered away, were useless from a military point of view, unless to keep the soldiers engaged in some sort of non-descript work. But they frittered away the compactness of military strength, and probably courted disaster, by division.

(5.) There is no doubt, too, that the severe winter of the country had its effect in partially paralysing the efforts of Indian troops from the plains. A great many even of the Europeans were invalided or taken off by pneumonia.

(6.) The element of fanaticism, though not usually included in a military subject, has here to be glanced at. The Ghazi

## 138 *Military Deductions to be drawn from*

element not only proved of use to the Afghans in recruiting, or in exhibiting a heroic example, but generally entered into the result of engagements. Their force, fury, shouts, determination, standards, leading onsets, &c., were actually military elements of great import. This element of fanaticism was, of course, entirely absent from our side. A strict sense of hard duty pervaded all our ranks from the highest to the lowest. There was not even any *loot* to be had from the poverty-stricken Afghans; a consideration, however, which powerfully affected them as towards us.

On a review of all these circumstances it is difficult to decide on which side, if on either lay the balance of advantage. We had arms, discipline, leaders, numbers, military stores and ammunition, a state of active preparedness, in our favor. But we were the invaders, of a mountainous and inhospitable country, too cold for the greater portion of our troops, and we were far from our supplies. The Afghans, well led by fanaticism, defended their hearths and homes, in a country well known to them, which was a vast natural fortress, and were cheered on with the prospect, if not of martyrdom—of *loot*

That we obtained nearly all the military successes, was what might have been expected; also that we suffered some reverses. That we inflicted few crushing military defeats, too, might have been foreseen; and after all, that whatever we have actually accomplished, both parties remain very much in nearly the same position as before the war. Nature, the ground, the distance, the climate, and a bond of fanaticism fought against art, discipline, and money; and the result was that, while the latter won in their own proper sphere of action, the former were so powerful as to limit the force and effect of the military successes, and politically to neutralise them.

It ought also to be mentioned, before we pass on to view the lessons taught by the war, that the Afghans are capable of discipline, and, when handled by an able general, have proved respectable adversaries, if not even victors. This circumstance will lead to a modification of the view, if it has been entertained, that they were merely rude savages we were fighting with. With artillery, cavalry, infantry, and general ideas as to good and bad ground and modes of battle, we had an enemy who, with the other circumstances in their favor and against us, were not to be quite despised.

### II.

In glancing at the military deductions which may be drawn from the late Afghan War, we may conveniently divide them into a few leading sections, as—

On the March.  
In Camp.

In Siege.  
In Action.

*On the March.*—On this subject, while the brilliant march of Sir Frederick Roberts from Cabul to Candahar furnishes a number of lessons, other marches, such as Sir Frederick Roberts' earlier march from the Indian Frontier to Cabul, General Phayre's march for the relief of Candahar, and last, but not least, Sir Donald Stewart's march from Candahar to Cabul, are not less fruitful in the instruction they afford. Success marked them all alike. Sir Frederick Roberts' earlier march, as well as Sir Donald Stewart's march, were both contested, and neither general had a superabundance of troops. Sir Frederick Roberts' second and longer march was uncontested. He had a compact small army of picked regiments, capable of dealing with any force that could be brought against it. General Phayre's march was barely one in the sense of the word as we understand it here, though it was even more so in another sense. He had no army, but, with the mere nucleus of one, went on from stage to stage, gathering in supplies and at the same time increasing in numbers. But he too was successful, though he nowhere met with any serious opposition. Even General Bright's march to relieve Sir Frederick Roberts at Cabul, in the presence of a superior enemy, was entirely successful.

Success, then, attended all the marches. Some may be inclined to think that such marches as were entirely unopposed, as Sir Frederick Roberts' march to Candahar notably, were the most successful; while others may reckon those marches the most successful which triumphed over every opposition and attack, as Sir Donald Stewart's march to Cabul. There are several things to be noted from all these marches:—

(1.) That marches in Afghanistan are not, as a rule, very seriously contested.

(2.) That the Afghans, either from ignorance, or from other causes, are unable to use to advantage points of attack on the lines of march.

(3.) That marches should be undertaken in a complete state of preparedness for battle if need be.

(4.) That the stages ought not, if possible, to be of exhaustive lengths.

(5.) That supplies should either be carried or be ready to hand.

(6.) That heavy trains of artillery, or heavy cannon, should not, with other things, be allowed uselessly to encumber or impede a march.\*

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\* The following observations on this subject are from General Roberts' account of his march:—  
"In the detail of the forces it



Both General Roberts' marches were very risky, and risks are not permissible in legitimate warfare. In his first march he was not only with too few troops under him, but he cut himself off from further supplies for a long while. In the second, he was entirely cut off from any base, and although he was bound to arrive somewhere, it is not quite sure where that would have been had Ayub shown the least generalship either in taking Candahar, cutting off General Phayre, or attacking General Roberts in some strategic position. But perhaps it is for the very reason that risks are not in the view of regular warfare, that they do succeed.

*In Camp.*—This includes the military occupation of strongholds. Only Cabul and Candahar, with Kelat-i-Ghilzai in a very inferior degree, furnish us here with any lessons—

(1.) In a country like Cabul the weak occupation of any place is indefensible. Cabul under Sir Frederick Roberts before its siege by Mahomed Jan, Candahar under General Primrose before its siege by Ayub Khan, and Kelat-i-Ghilzai before Sir Frederick Roberts withdrew its garrison, all indicate this. There is little doubt that in all these cases had the Afghan attacks been delivered with any force and ability, our forces would have had to

will be noted that the strength in artillery was not in proportion to the strength of the other branches. But there were strong reasons which made it desirable that the artillery within the column should consist only of mountain batteries. The whole question was one of grave importance, and it was not without due consideration decided that the force should proceed to Kandahar unaccompanied by wheeled artillery.

The object was to reach Kandahar in the shortest possible time; and it was not improbable that the main road would have to be left, should the Afghan army at Kandahar endeavour to make its way towards Ghazni and Kabul by the valleys of the Argandab or the Argahastan.

The nature of the ground throughout Afghanistan is such that artillery can never be safely employed with cavalry alone, unsupported by infantry. Nor is rapidity of movement so much required of artillery in countries like Afghanistan, as the

power of being able to operate over the most difficult ground without causing delay to the rest of the troops.

It was not forgotten, moreover, that on arrival at Kandahar the column would be augmented by a battery of 40-pounders, a battery of field artillery and four guns of horse artillery.

It is unquestionable that, had either horse or field artillery accompanied the force, the march could not have been performed with the same rapidity. Before leaving Kabul everything that was possible was done to lighten baggage. Ten British soldiers were told off to each mountain battery tent, usually intended to hold six, and fifty to a sepoy's tent of two *pals*, 34lbs. of kit only being allowed for each man.

To each Native soldier 20lbs. of baggage was allowed, inclusive of camp equipage.

Each officer was allowed one mule; and one mule was allowed to every eight officers for mess."

succumb most fatally and disastrously. We ought in each instance to have been in sufficient force.

(2.) The second lesson is not to hold a too extended line of fortifications, as originally at Sherpur, or, what is related to it, not to have portions so distantly placed as to be practically cut off from speedy support, or withdrawal. Even at Candahar General Primrose had hurriedly to effect a concentration and consolidation of his forces. How would he have fared had Ayub Khan shown himself at the gates of Candahar along with the fugitives?

(3.) The third lesson is not to fritter away the strength of the force while encamped by sending out detachments here and there on subsidiary services. This was done both at Cabul before Mahomed Jan's attack, and at Candahar to oppose Ayub, though in the latter instance, the military mistake was induced by the imperative orders of supreme authority to oppose Ayub's advance at all hazards and risks.

In both these instances not only did the detachments fare badly, and weaken the *prestige* of our arms; not only had they either to be recalled in haste or to fall back; but the positions at Cabul and Candahar were themselves most seriously endangered. Besides, it ought always to be remembered that it may be only a feint on the part of the enemy to weaken our strength by drawing away troops, when the chief blow is intended to be dealt on the main body itself. When the force is so complete and concentrated as to be sufficient for all purposes, and yet able to detach a portion, it may be allowable, but never else. In this point of view even the detachment of Sir Frederick Roberts with the main body of the Cabul troops was, though rendered politically imperative, a mistake from a military point of view, as it affected not only the force sent out, but that which remained behind. For not only was the force left behind with Sir Donald Stewart too few to effectually make head against any new combined risings in the North; but there was the real danger of Ayub's slipping past Sir Frederick Roberts' force and delivering his blow on Cabul itself.

*In Siege.*—There were two notable sieges during the late war—at Cabul and at Candahar. In both our forces were dangerously low, and considering the immensely superior forces of the enemy, it is extraordinary that nothing effectual was done by them. General Roberts, with superior numbers, regarded the gravity of his position, and wisely husbanded his strength; while General Primrose, with smaller numbers, a partially demoralized force, and opposed to an enemy who had already proved himself victorious, hazarded a sortie which may or may not have been unnecessary, but which reduced his small

garrison to dangerously scanty proportions. One more sortie like the one led so fatally by General Brooke would probably have resulted in the capture of Candahar by Ayub. While the siege of Cabul wore an unmilitary and even farcical aspect from the beginning—the pouring down of unexpected thousands of hastily levied wild rabble, to the end, when as suddenly and to Sir Frederick Roberts' great surprise the vast rabble broke up, led by an old priest; on the contrary the siege of Candahar presented the gravest possible and even heroic aspects from the sending out a detachment to bring in the fugitives under General Burroughs, the hasty consolidation and concentration of such forces as were available to stand a lengthened siege, to the very desperate sortie in force to demolish an important post of offence with its gloomy, even if successful, termination, down to the close when General Phayre was always coming up and yet never did come, and the besieged were compelled to engage in the battle delivered by Sir Frederick Roberts on Ayub Khan. In a military point of view General Burrough's force ought never to have been detached from the Candahar garrison to meet and check at all hazards a superior force like that of Ayub Khan. The entire force was needed by General Primrose to either deal Ayub a successful blow at Candahar, or to better stand a siege: or if Ayub slipped past Candahar for Ghuzni, to place him between two British forces, one from Cabul and the other from Candahar, so as to ensure his annihilation. This case alone will suffice to illustrate a fact which appears to have been forgotten throughout the Cabul war, *viz.*, that legitimate military operations do not include incessant political dictation and interference; and that political objects are themselves best served by leaving the military unimpeded to work out their object, which is the destruction of the enemy. It may be questioned if even Marshal Von Moltke would have been able so to have placed France at the feet of his sovereign as to secure his political object, if Prince Bismarck had been continually ordering and countermanding movements "for political reasons." In the case of Candahar and Ayub Khan, had the military been left to itself, and of course it is understood, guided by one and a competent head, Ayub Khan would not have defeated General Burroughs and seriously impaired British *prestige*, but been caught in a trap near Ghuzni and not one man allowed to escape. The result of political intermeddling was one defeat, one siege, the loss of many brave troops, a greater expenditure of money, a long and hazardous march from Cabul to Candahar, an ineffective battle in which nearly the whole of Ayub's troops escaped, General Phayre's costly and tedious march, the prolonged occupation of Candahar, and finally, probably, the continued power of Ayub's troops to create future trouble.

Such are usually the results of intermeddling in foreign matters, or matters foreign to one's line.

: III.

*In Action.*—The first preliminary of any action ought to be a thorough reconnaissances of the enemy. Without it a pitched battle cannot be fought on any recognised scientific principle. Without studying the ground, dispositions, number,\* and other points connected with the enemy, what arrangements, if any at all, can be made to overcome him, or even to ward off or mitigate the full effects of a heavy blow? With a vastly superior force of the enemy, as Ayub had at the Battle of Majwand, it might be even necessary to retreat before him to secure better ground, or to break up certain of his arrangements for battle. It is possible that with a full knowledge of Ayub's disposition of his forces and the numbers under him, General Burroughs would have been more chary in at once engaging him. Of course, a single error, like that committed by Lt. Maclaine, may upset the most carefully-laid plans at the last moment, and General Burroughs might have fared better had he not been led into the engagement on ground and at a time he did not choose. While it would be simply impossible to deal with such a case of daring and positive disobedience to superior orders immediately before an action, there is no question that officers of Lt. Maclaine's mental stamp and idiosyncrasies, or junior in experience and indiscipline, ought not to be placed in such grave positions of trust where, contrary to positive orders, they may begin an action and sacrifice a whole army as well as the *prestige* of the British arms. Even had the day turned out otherwise, and Ayub been signally defeated, and further, had Lt. Maclaine largely contributed to such end, he would still have rightly deserved instant and speedy punishment. Positive disobedience of orders on the field, entailing, too, the gravest of consequences, ought to entail nothing short of the very last\* penalty strictly administered. Else were all discipline lost, an army would become a rabble, and the ablest generals and bravest troops of no avail.

The value of a thorough reconnaissances was seen in the victory won by Sir Frederick Roberts over the same Ayub subsequently.

In fighting with an enemy like the Afghans in a country like Afghanistan, there is no doubt that we have to take the ground chosen by the enemy. We cannot have our own ground, if we would attack them. Hence the greater necessity for a thorough previous reconnaissances, and such tactical arrangements as may accomplish our ends and upset any combination of circumstances of the enemy.

## 144 *Military Deductions to be drawn from*

Another preliminary deduction in this division of our subject is that, as generally, if not always, we are inferior in numbers, our dispositions and tactics ought to be so superior as to make up for the disparity. Probably, the disparity ought not to be more than in the proportion of three to one at the greatest. In the Battle of Candahar General Roberts' force was about 10,000, and Ayub's has been reckoned at from 25,000 to 30,000, though hardly a fourth were engaged in the contest. In the Battle of Maiwand, where the disparity was very great, had Ayub's force amounted to only 8,000 or 9,000, there is little doubt that, with all his disarrangements of plans, General Burroughs with his 2,700 troops would have inflicted a signal defeat on him.

Another consideration which ought to be attended to before an action with Afghans, is the composition of our forces. All native regiments would never do, nor a less proportion of Europeans to Natives than one to three. A third at least of our force ought in any case to be Europeans, while of the remainder at least another third ought to be hill regiments of Gurkhas, or Punjabis, among the best of our Native Army.

There is also no doubt that we ought to be strong in the arm of artillery. The Afghans and all Oriental races are, as a rule, very amenable to artillery well and effectively served. Artillery well wielded might alone be made to decide the fortunes of the day, and might be used with effect from the commencement of an action. We are not drawing here any lessons from the First Napoleon's tactics in Europe; but even there artillery took a leading part in an action. Much more would it prove useful in Afghanistan. With less loss on our side, artillery might be made the principal feature of a battle, with the other arms as subsidiary to and helping it. This might appear an extreme, if not novel, view of an action; but we are convinced that, with the use of a proper disposition of the forces, and efficient tactics, it would be the most effectual one with Afghans. At the battle of Maiwand the artillery—like indeed the rest of the forces—were miserably deficient, and had General Burroughs not been positively ordered to check Ayub's advance, he would have done best by slowly retreating on Candahar with his small battery protecting his rear. United with General Primrose's force under the walls of Candahar, there would have been better chances in an action.

Still again, in the composition of our forces in action in Afghanistan, there ought to be a sufficient force of cavalry. This arm is more useful in actions with Asiatics than in actions with European troops. In European battles at the present day and with

the present perfection of military science, cavalry are hardly of use till near the close of an action. In actions with Asiatics cavalry are not only more required at the conclusion to secure the full effects of a victory, but throughout an engagement may be made very largely to conduce to the success of the day. Not only do the enemy possess cavalry who harass and affect our Native regiments and try to break into the weak points of the field, so that we need cavalry to meet and check them; but Afghan regiments are unable to stand the shock of our cavalry charges. Whether, therefore, to meet the enemy's cavalry, to break up the rushes of *Ghazis*, to shake infantry formations, or finally to reap the full benefits of an action, cavalry is needed in full and sufficient force.

Another deduction here is, that we must bring improved tactics to bear upon the improved tactics of the Afghans themselves. There is little doubt that some portions at least of the Afghans—notably under Mahomed Jan and Ayub Khan—have exhibited a knowledge of the art of war which would be no discredit to even a Russian general. Our knowledge of Asiatic modes of warfare has been mostly derived from experience with Indians. But with a finer race like the Afghans, and with their probable advance in military skill, it behoves us to treat them more respectfully, and not to despise them with a vain and foolish confidence. Even General Roberts' tactics at the battle of Candahar were more suited to the age of Julius Caesar.

#### IV.

We are also too apt in Asiatic engagements to assume and take it for granted that our first and original dispositions will stand in action, that all our originally planned movements will and must succeed, and that no extraordinary action on the part of the enemy, and failure of any portion of our plans, will necessitate fresh combinations, movements and plans. This was seen no less in the action at Cabul before the retreat into Sherpur, than in the action at Maiwand. In both cases a well-ordered and effective retreat was indicated, so planned that, while it accomplished our end, the enemy should sustain a full share of loss, and perhaps even a disaster. Instead of that we not only stood our ground, or rather went out to the enemy's ground to give them battle; but actually thought that our plans would necessarily succeed! Such a vain and blind and reckless mode is condemned by all the rules of sound scientific warfare, and must and can only end in defeat and disaster.

In every case not only must the army, large or small, be

well in hand, but it must be so disposed that there shall be due and mutual support to every part, and that, whether in movement, or stationary, or under entirely new sets of circumstances. There ought to be no possibility of any particular portion, however advanced or separate, being left to itself, and entirely stamped out of existence; and even if such should be the case, for its loss to really endanger any other portion; much less affect the fortunes of the whole battle. These lessons are forcibly illustrated by the Maiwand disaster. It is not only evident that the small army was not well in hand, but that too much was expected from each portion, that one portion did not support another, that contingencies were not foreseen, and that, therefore, when one portion collapsed the whole collapsed. We trust it will be remembered here that in an essay like this our object is not to pass censures on individual Military officers—nor do we here do so. General Burroughs may have made the best possible dispositions; but he was compelled under “political” orders to check Ayub at all hazards; the numbers of the enemy were greatly underrated to him; he was compelled to fight not when and where, or even how he would have fought; and finally, at the last, his subordinate officers could not carry out his orders. Under such a combination of evil circumstances no one could have done anything, probably not even the great Iron Duke, though, in his case, we are inclined to think that he would have foreseen the evil and turned a masterly retreat into an actual subsequent victory. However that be, after the event the defeat is full of lessons, and must be quoted, and hence is here quoted, without any particular personal reference. Still further, it is evident also that no regiment, whether European or Native, exhausted and hungry, ought to be subjected to a murderous and fatal “pounding” of several hours’ duration. Setting aside the necessity of the “pounding,” it might have been shortened. At the same time doubtless the movements ordered after the regiments had been decimated actually originated the rout; but for the orders to move the regiments would still have stood at their original places, though, in this view, the cavalry were simply worthless; and had the object of the battle been to stop Ayub’s advance for a day or so, even at the risk of the destruction of the little army, it could have been accomplished simply by letting the regiments fall in their places to a man, which would have probably actually been the case had not the orders, been given to the cavalry to charge.

Further, a severe engagement should not be undertaken on an empty stomach. On the day of the battle of Maiwand, a very



severe engagement was indicated, and there can be no excuse whatever for the very few troops having been led into action not only fatigued, but in a famishing state. Fighting is very hard work, and will be done all the better for a little previous rest and nourishment. General Roberts, with a picked and far superior force, took care previous to the battle of Candahar to see that they had had both food and rest.

In all Afghan battles the *Ghazi* element ought to be specially and seriously considered. It has been often seen during the late war that the Afghans never make a serious fight when they have no Ghazis; and that in all the more important actions the Ghazis played the most prominent and effective part. In all our actions, then, with Afghans, we ought to take particular steps to check, rout, or destroy this element. Not only may the Ghazi bands secure the special attention of a few *mitrailleuses*, but cavalry charges with revolvers out to destroy them or put them to rout; while in any case, a determined infantry charge with fixed bayonets ought to clear them from the field.

A due proportion of European troops; a number not less than a third of the enemy; a thorough reconnaissance before hand; ground well studied; a proper disposition of the troops on the field, and due and mutual support in any and every case; strategy and tactics a little in advance of those which we have been accustomed to employ in Asiatic warfare; the troops well in hand; some consideration for their being fed and rested before an engagement, and their true powers of endurance under "pounding;" artillery being employed as a principal arm, with cavalry in sufficient force and employed effectively both during and after the engagement; and finally, a special and particular regard to the Ghazi element of the enemy;—these are the principal deductions we draw in reference to troops in action from the late campaigns; and, with these—probably in spite of even a greater disparity of force, as one to four, the result of any battle can only be favorable to our arms.

There are, however, one or two other points to be noted here before we pass on to the consideration of another head of our subject. Being assured of victory we ought to be able to reap the full fruits of it. It is of little real use to break up an army of Afghans for them only to re-appear in another and less guarded quarter. Our engagements with the Afghans have partaken very much of this feature. In the more prominent battles from the beginning of the war down to the latest battle of Candahar, the enemy have always escaped "scot-free." It may be just possible that we could not actually do more than we did, though it is difficult to believe such a thing. Even when we had sufficient



## 148 *Military Deductions to be drawn from*

cavalry, as in the last-named action, almost the entire body of the enemy escaped—the result being just the reverse of what was immediately after publicly announced of the capture of a body of 10,000 Afghans. Due dispositions must be made not only for action, but for the pursuit after and barring possible ways of escape. Knowing the instinct of the Afghans to “run away and live to fight another day,” the “running away” ought to be made impossible. It is just possible that under supreme civil and political orders, our generals were warned not to burden themselves with prisoners, or to make too great a slaughter of the enemy; but if so, the war was thus only prolonged, and here is another telling instance of the evils of politicals being charged with a war. A victory can never be reckoned complete in a military sense till the enemy is either annihilated or captured. Herein was shown the great military genius of Field Marshal Von Moltke during the late Franco-German War, when he captured immense whole armies almost without striking a blow. In this the only true sense of a victory, we can boast of few in the late campaigns. Our victories have been only half victories, if even that, even when at their best, as at the battle of Candahar. There would be the greatest possible gain in a country like Afghanistan in capturing the enemy even if only to disarm them and retain only the leaders and officers, setting the rest at liberty.

Another deduction for the sequel of an action, suggested by the retreat from Maiwand to Candahar is that Afghan generals and troops may know how to fight, and even occasionally, when exceptionally favored, may wring a hard-earned victory, but they don't know *how to follow it up*. It has just been shown that we ourselves have proved lamentably deficient in this respect. But with Afghans, an action is terminated when simply the enemy is defeated and driven off the field. Properly, a war is one connected whole from the opening to the closing scene, and not a series of isolated acts with no bearing on one another. The consequences of a victory ought to come after it, and affect in a material degree the termination of a war. But the Afghans have not such long military heads. This was also seen among Asiatics after the battle of Chillianwallah. After actually winning the day, the Sikhs simply did not know what else to do. They could not follow up their victory, but actually effected a retrograde movement! Thereupon we at once went forward again and occupied our old ground, and to all appearance stood forth as the victors. Had General Burroughs known this, that it is one thing to achieve a victory, and another to follow it up, as a German army would do, but as an Afghan army cannot do because it has not the military capacity for it, the retreat from Maiwand would never have proved so disastrous. The shattered

fragments could have been reformed at the distance of a few miles, the general and the artillery serving as the nucleus of the re-formation, and the force could then have retreated after a certain composed, however crest-fallen, fashion to Candahar. Even General Primrose, well as he did his very serious duties, would not have been in such an undignified hurry to make his escape inside the walls. After an adverse engagement, formations broken, regiments shattered, with only flying remains, the troops may easily be reformed and without molestation, robbing a defeat of half its sting. Provide for, then, and bar up the ways of escape of the enemy, in case of his defeat ; and in case of your own defeat, calculate and provide for your re-formation and dignified retreat or still further resistance and action.

Before we pass on to a second and final head of our essay, let us briefly advert to two great evils which were clearly illustrated in the late Afghan War.

A number of separate and independent commands, where there is one object to be gained, the military conquest of the country, can never be conducive to that end. During the late campaigns there were several forces in the field, and one command was independent of another. Considering that, after all, the war was directed from India, the establishment of several independent commands showed no wisdom, but the contrary, and perhaps both delayed operations and invited reverses. There was simply no necessity for it, and one competent head was amply sufficient.

The other evil is the practical direction of a war by "politicals." Civilians, however exalted, and especially able in their own special lines, cannot possibly interfere in the operations of actual war without betraying their own ignorance, and at the same time ruining the game. A definite object being placed before the Commander-in-Chief of a united army, there ought to be no further political commands.

## V.

We may now pass on to another, a *general* head of deductions to be drawn from the late campaigns.

And first, as regards the bases of supply. The Southern base was too far off. In any future war we cannot afford again to wait for relief in Candahar all the way from India. For purposes of transport, the utility of even light branches of railways cannot be over-estimated. Hence the Southern line ought always to be at once pushed forward as far as it safely can be on the first announcement of a war. The lines of communications were generally well held throughout the late war. There is little question, however, that Ghuzni ought always to be occupied in force, along with Cabul and Candahar, and lines of communication

established between them. During the late war Cabul and Candahar were each isolated centres of operations affording no support to one another, and if, as at the end, any support had to be sent, it was at a great risk both to the troops left behind and those ordered out. Besides, Ghuzni became a centre of operations for the enemy to attack us either at Cabul or at Candahar. Thus, instead of being converted into a double support to strengthen us both at Cabul and Candahar, it was left to become a focus of operations against us in both Northern and Southern Afghanistan. Ghuzni, Cabul, and Candahar being each well and equally occupied, would present a base line of operations against which such events as Sir Fred. Roberts' retirement into Sherpur and subsequent danger there, and General Burroughs' defeat at Maiwand, as well as General Primrose's subsequent beleaguering in Candahar, with General Roberts' dangerous march from Cabul to Candahar, as well as Sir Donald Stewarts' forcing his way from Candahar to Cabul, would all be simply impossible, because not required.

In the view of the camp being generally selected for attack by a people like the Afghans, to whom doubtless an empty tin match box is some kind of valuable *loot*, and the impossibility of our detailing any large number of troops adequately to guard it, as well as to prevent any weakening of the forces in action by sending portions off to save a camp attacked by the enemy, it ought to be a question whether our camp-followers should not be subjected to a kind of light semi-military drill to enable them simply to hold their own, and beat back any small undisciplined bodies who may make a diversion on them. Armed, organised, and disciplined after a fashion, they ought to be able to give a good account of their foe, instead of being, as at present, a danger and a drag on our active operations. With a mixture in them of many races, Pathans, Sikhs, Hindus, Goorkhas, and Mussalmans, any combination on their part either to make away with our camp, or help the enemy during action, would be impossible. Further, they might be commanded by a class of Native and European Officers drawn from the *ranks*, thus affording a promotion for meritorious soldiers and non-commissioned officers, whose ambition to rise cannot be adequately gratified under existing arrangements. One commissioned officer, as Commandant for each thousand of the coolie or camp-followers' corps, ought to complete the arrangements.

In the matter of rations, clothing, and commissariat stores, several defects were visible during the late war. Both rations and warm clothing were deficient for the Native portion of the Army, and doubtless owing to this there was greater illness and mortality in it, necessitating larger calls for recruiting, which could not be met, while operations to that

extent were hindered and retarded. Europeans and Natives form our two arms, and though the former be the right arm, and the latter the left, it stands to reason that if from some cause the latter is sluggish or paralysed, and cannot readily and easily answer to the calls made on it by the right arm to fire off a piece, the piece won't be fired off as it ought to be. The Natives, owing to their largely eschewing meat, and being weaker in *physique*, as well as belonging to a hot and enervating climate, ought to have at least as much consideration paid to their actual wants in food and warm clothing, as the Europeans. It does not appear that even the rum and spirits of the European part of the forces ever fell short.

The intelligence department, in a country like Afghanistan, can easily be made more efficient than it proved in actual working during the late campaign. In a strict view, there was either no intelligence department, or it was very poorly served. Not only before the battle of Maiwand, but even before the retreat into Sherpur, the intelligence was faulty to a degree. This might be excused in a case, for instance, where we entered into entirely new and strange territory, as Thibet, or Abyssinia, but not where we have thousands of Afghans and Pathans settled in our own territories, and our line marches along theirs for many hundred miles. A body of trained Afghan *goindas* might be so organised, that not a movement of the enemy, or any particular connected with them, could escape.

The battle of Maiwand especially brought forward the question of an increase of European officers for Native regiments. There is little doubt that, had the Native infantry and cavalry regiments engaged in that action been officered as they ought to have been, the full force of the disaster might have been averted. The question was also brought forward by the other Native regiments during the campaign when, so many of their officers being killed, or wounded, or sick, their efficiency was sadly impaired. The question of the greater increased cost of Native regiments officered more efficiently is a pecuniary, not a military one. It is possible, however, that fewer Native regiments, thoroughly and efficiently officered, would be cheaper as well as more serviceable in the long run, than the larger number we have under the present system.

We have already referred to there being a certain proportion of European to Native troops; and we may now close this Essay with the subject of recruitment for the Native army while on active service at Cabul.

## VI

It was a fact that recruits did not offer themselves during the latter part of the war. There were many direct reasons for this:—

## 152 *Military Deductions to be drawn from*

The first is that, however martial are some of the races of India, the Afghans are regarded by them as enemies formidable beyond the average. Secondly, there is little or no *loot* to be had with them. Thirdly, the rugged and mountainous nature of the country so unlike their own. Fourthly, the severe cold and privations of winter. Fifthly, a war long-continued, with no rapid and brilliant successes, with perhaps varying fortunes, takes off the gilt of the thing. Sixthly, the reports of the sick and wounded returned are always apt to be exaggerated, and this deters others from going. Seventhly, the populations of India are gradually settling down to the arts of peace. For some of these causes there is no remedy. But for others there is. Generally our Proclamations of War are penned for Europe, and not for Asia. Bare and meagre to a fault, without flourishes, and that large indenting on the imagination which is often necessary, these Proclamations instead of arousing the slumbering martial ardour of the country, serve often only to cool it. Let us, however, proceed to view the causes in the order set forth above:—

First, it may be difficult to rouse Indian races to fight an ancient foe who has often trampled on their necks, and left so many deep scars on their country, and the reports of whose fighting qualities are so exaggerated. Something here, however, may be done, by issuing a small Hand-book of British Battles and Victories in Afghanistan both during the first war in 1838 and the last, in the vernaculars of the provinces from which the recruits are to be drawn, and circulating them in thousands free throughout the country. The *thannadars* may be made the *media* of circulation.

Secondly, British discipline as well as the poverty of Afghans will probably never allow of *loot*, so that this cause must continue to operate unfavorably towards recruitment.

Thirdly, our Native regiments in India (except the Gurkhas) are so generally and continuously stationed in the plains, that they become physically unfitted for a hill campaign. The remedy for this is easy. Not only ought we to have military stations for a proportion of our Sepoy force on the hills, but there ought to be even hill camps of exercise. As sites for these camps, Dugshai and Kot Kangra may be readily suggested. It need not be pointed out here that any future war with Bhootan, or Nepal, or Cabul, must deal with a hill region. A little regular exercise, therefore, for a portion of the Sepoy Army, in the way of marching, camping out, and fighting, on the hills, is simply necessary.

Fourthly, we should feed and clothe our Sepoy regiments a little better than we did during the late war, so as to enable them to stand the cold of Cabul better.

Fifthly, our wars, like those which have lately shown the example

in Europe, ought to be sharp, short, and decisive. Without trenching on political ground, our late war with Cabul exhibited a series of efforts long drawn out. The military plan—if there was one, and not two or several—was one purposely calculated to give every facility to the enemy to continually make head against us and prolong the war for a quarter of a century. With thirty thousand good troops thrown in at once into Cabul, Ghuzni, and Candahar, and twenty thousand more holding the lines of communication; with a couple of decisive battles in which the enemy after showing a good fight, did not bodily clear away; and a few really punitive expeditions; the campaign would have been over in six months, the enemy brought to a proper sense of things, and while there would have been less expenditure, less sick, wounded, and killed, there would have been even some glory. Of course, the interference of “politicals” in military operations would have to be entirely abjured.

Finally, it would be impossible—not to say both unwise and unworthy—to check the growing civilisation and settlement of the Indian populations in the paths of peace. The old division of the country into Regulation and non-Regulation Provinces served an end beyond that of preparing the latter to be incorporated among the former. It is almost certain that, were another great Native convulsion like the mutiny to occur, the Punjab—now a model Regulation Province—could not become the recruiting ground to reconquer India. Under non-regulation ways and a Chief Commissioner, the old native instincts were better preserved, understood, and made capable of being immediately utilized. We do not believe that the world of human beings even in India was ever intended to be made a dead level plain. However this may be, there will still, among such numerous races, be always not only men found to serve as food for powder and bullets, but a superior class to form a really effective and dashing army. But the inducements to enter the service must be increased. Of late years it has been stated in the House of Commons that even in England only an inferior class of recruits, and that with difficulty, can be procured; while even of those enlisting, a larger proportion desert than before. The same causes that have been in operation in England to produce these untoward results have been even more largely at work in India. Caste prejudices, which used to restrict large populations to a purely military life, have been largely relaxed, and trade and agriculture are more extensively followed. Again; the pay of the common soldier has not been increased during the last quarter of a century in proportion to the increase in the earnings of other labouring classes. This represents a true and actual grievance; for Native soldiers, unlike British

## 154 *Military Deductions to be drawn, &c.*

soldiers, mostly have families whom they support, and the prices of every requisite of life have increased fully four-fold during the last thirty years.

We have treated this subject of recruitment at greater length owing to its supreme importance. It is the final lesson taught us by the late Cabul War. Had that war continued a couple of years longer, we should have simply found ourselves unable to supply the necessary troops. It may be added, before we conclude this part of the subject, that volunteering, to the extent of two or three companies per regiment from regiments left behind in the country, might be encouraged, as it would be found easier to procure recruits to fill up the numbers of such regiments remaining on home service than of those abroad on active service.

One by one, thus, we have glanced at the military deductions of the late campaign, from the more efficient organisation of the intelligence department and better rations and warmer clothing for the sepoys, and other similar matters which may be reckoned as almost outside military consideration, but which cannot be omitted in a complete view, to tactics in and after action, and the general strategy of a campaign. These deductions are neither few nor unimportant, but, on the contrary, both numerous and important—so numerous as indeed to cover the entire military field. As such, then, we may unhesitatingly state here at the close, as we began by stating, that the late war was one of the greatest military importance—fruitful in lessons for patient and thorough study;—in short, that British arms have never yet been engaged in Asia in a more peculiar—even if not more hardly-contested—campaign.

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## ART. VIII.—THE SIKH RELIGION UNDER BANDA, AND ITS PRESENT CONDITION.

**G**URU GOBIND SINGH'S doctrines and ambition involved him in continual warfare with the Emperor Aurangzeb, but he was unable to contend against that astute and powerful monarch. The Guru, on the destruction and desertion of his forces, launched fiery invective and remonstrance against the Emperor.\* Aurangzeb summoned him to his presence, and Gobind set out to obey the order. The emperor died, however, before he could behold the Guru; and the close of his life could not be signalized either by adding the murder of Gobind to his many acts of religious fanaticism, or by conferring on him a free pardon, and thus winning from his Hindu subjects in his old age a cheap reputation for clemency.

Bahadur Shah, the successor of Aurangzeb, hearing of the Guru, renewed the order that he should repair to the presence of the Emperor then occupied with State affairs in the Dakhan. The Guru proceeded thither in consequence, and the new emperor, instead of punishing the formidable Sikh teacher, sought to conciliate him by the offer of a military command in that distant province. But the Guru in the midst of his duties never abandoned his religious mission. He is represented† on one occasion to have, in company with five thousand devoted Sikhs, paid a religious visit to a devotee named Dadu. When the Guru's devotions were finished, and he had received the homage of his new religious acquaintance, the latter, to entertain his guest, told him of one Narain Das, an eccentric Bairagi fakir in the vicinity, who possessed a volume compiled by a disciple of Gorakhnath, which contained all the secrets of thaumaturgy and of the recondite forces of nature‡. This fakir was represented to the Guru as an inveterate practical joker. On one occasion he had put Dadu on his bed, and, finding him asleep overturned him and laughed consumedly at the performance. On

\* See the "Sri Zararnamah," a work written by Gobind Singh, now found in hybrid Persian in the Gurmukhi character, and addressed to Aurangzeb.

† In the "Pant Parkash," a Sikh work compiled by Ratan Singh to glorify the Sikh religion and clear it of the aspersions cast upon it by one Buta Shah. The work was presented to General Ochterlony. Sirdar Attar

Singh, C. I. E., Chief of Bhadaur, has favoured me with a MS. copy. I am principally indebted to it for the following narrative as far as the death of Banda.

‡ The wondrous volume bore the name "Sidh Anúnia." Compare the account of the magical books of Sir Michael Scott in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel."



Govind's arrival in the neighbourhood, the fakir called himself the Guru Pir, thus defying the pretensions of the Sikh apostle. Gobind felt an invincible desire to see the man with the object of converting him to his religious and political faith. A visit to Narain Das was determined on. The Guru went with some of his followers, but found the fakir absent. The visitors, however, resolved to make themselves at home. Gobind sat on the fakir's bed, and his attendant Sikhs killed Narain Das's goats, and began to regale themselves with the plundered repast. The fakir, like Socrates of old, is said to have had his special attendant spirit, whom he ordered to smite and unseat the Guru from his bed. The Guru continued to retain his seat notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the spirit. Banda then directed the spirit's operations against the Guru's followers who had appropriated the goats, but by the favour of the Guru the spirit was equally impotent against the Sikhs. Banda, on finding himself thus thwarted, believed the Guru must possess supernatural power superior to his own, and set out to pay him his homage. The Guru enquired his name, his sect, and the name of his spiritual guide. The fakir replied, "I am your slave (*banda*). I am a disciple (*Sikh*) of yours, and you are my religious teacher (*Guru*). Pardon the past: I am now submissive to your sovereign orders."

The Guru, pleased with the fakir, at once received him into his faith, and gave him the name of Banda in memory of the interview. But either the Guru was sadly in need of adherents, or he enforced short novitiate on his converts, for few and short were his religious injunctions to Banda, and great was the subsequent trust reposed in the hastily converted and eccentric devotee. The Guru merely told him that the process of becoming a Sikh was difficult, that it was necessary to unreservedly offer up soul, body and wealth to the Guru, have no thought of self, leave one's own family and cleave to the religious teacher, and become even as an insect in its chrysalis state, which, though it changes its appearance, preserves its identity. The rule of the Sikh faith was delicate as a fine hair or the edge of the sword; and the Guru's orders should be executed even at the risk of life itself.

Banda accepted these conditions of faith, and enquired how he could serve his new master. The Guru's sons had previously been cruelly executed at Sirhind by the Musalmans; the memory of his dead children, the hopes of his family and his faith, was ever present to the Guru's mind; and he at once imposed on his new disciple the task of slaying the slayers of his sons, razing to the ground the hated stronghold of Sirhind, and devastating with fire and sword the Musalman territories in the Punjab. In parti-

cular was Banda charged by the Guru to put the Wazir of Sirhind to death. On his capture, spikes were to be driven into the ground, on which he was to be dragged by bullocks in presence of the army; and after his death his body was to be insulted and burned, to hinder its resurrection and its participation in the joys of paradise. Other minor injunctions were given regarding the conduct of the Sikhs in battle, injunctions which now find no place in civilized warfare, but which were as earnestly enjoined by the priests of the chosen people of God,\* as by the benighted Sikh apostle of the Punjab, and which would again stain the annals of the human race and retard civilization, if priests and religious teachers were not kept in proper subordination to civil authority.

The Guru sent with Banda's army five chosen Sikhs, Nauj Singh, Kan Singh, Daya Singh, Rán Singh and Báj Singh, men earnest in faith, powerful in sinew, and inured to war in many a desperate conflict. The Guru bestowed five arrows on Banda to protect him in extremity; he gave him letters to the faithful and sturdy Sikhs of the Mánjha; and he promised him worldly prosperity and spiritual perfection. Banda wanted funds for his expedition, and these were fortunately obtained on the arrival of some grain merchants who contributed a tenth part of the sale proceeds of their corn, a contribution which, whether free or voluntary, afforded a handsome subsidy to the new army. On receiving this assistance, Banda had ostensibly no doubt of the spiritual excellence of the Guru and the superiority of his faith. The military standards were reared on high, and the puritan army set out, reciting the praises of God, recounting the heroic acts of Chandi, the goddess of war and courage, and vowing deathless vengeance on the Musalman murderers of the sons of the Guru.

Why the Guru himself did not accompany Banda is not explained by the Sikh historians; but he probably had received warning from the Emperor that he must not again entangle himself in political broils; and he thought a Sikh army under another less suspected leader might have less to contend with at the outset of a great military struggle. Banda advanced in great state. He received in his progress the homage of religious visitors, and bestowed on them milk and sons, as such articles of material or religious necessity were required. He caused those who approached him to repeat the religious precepts of the Guru; and he rewarded all services performed for him with princely munificence.

Many were the fights and conflicts in which Banda and his Sikhs were successful. Bagarwanda, Kaithal, Seharkanda, Karátpur,

\* See Deuteronomy, Chaps. XX and XXI.

Samána, Sadhaura, Banúr, and Ropar are enumerated as the scenes of Sikh successes or victories ; and finally the Sikh General had the satisfaction of sacking Sirhind and putting its wazir\* or governor to death in the manner enjoined by Guru Gobind. The Grecian hero dragged his rival's body tied to his chariot wheels thrice round the tomb of his beloved companion in arms. Banda added to the cruelty of Achilles by dragging his enemy with bullocks on spikes in presence of the army, and then burning his dead body, an intolerable outrage to a Musalman of whatever social position. Gobind Singh had died two years previously, and Banda was now left apparently sole arbiter of the religion as well as of the political destinies of the Sikhs.

The Sikh army, everywhere victorious and everywhere aggressive, caused grievous anxiety to the Delhi Emperor, unable owing to other troubles to bring an army into the field to oppose the Sikh general. The Emperor sent for Nand Lál, a trusty Sikh, and requested him to visit Gobind's surviving wife, and beg her to use her influence with Banda to stop the general carnage of the Musalmans and the devastation of their fair lands. The Guru's wife wrote as was requested, but Banda, either puffed up with success or otherwise deprived of reason, was in no frame of mind to heed her exhortations. He then, for the first time since he had parted from the Guru, showed himself in his true character. He said he was no Sikh of hers, but a Bairagi recluse ; and that it was by a freak of fortune his association with the sect had brought it sovereignty. He openly cast off allegiance to the Khalsa, proclaimed that the victories obtained were the result of the divine power he himself had possessed from heaven ; and he stated his resolve to take vengeance on the Sikhs for the former plunder of his goats at the Dakhan temple. Banda, having despatched this missive, became more and more infuriated against his Musalman opponents. The Guru's wife sought to deprive him of his command, and several of his Sikh followers at once abandoned him. The soldiers who had thus changed leaders, clamoured for pay and maintenance, and the Guru's wife temporized by sending them to the Sikh temples to offer divine homage and obtain temporal assistance. She declared that her husband had merely given service to Banda, and not the rank of Guru ; and that it was for his own sect the Guru had reserved sovereignty. The Guru's wife cursed Banda, and upon this he suffered further mental affliction and aberration. He took to wife a widow of Mandi, and thus caused the double scandal not only of contracting marriage when a recluse, but of allying himself with a widow, so contrary to the

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\* The death of the Wazir of Sirhind A. D. 1710, one hundred and seven- occurred in the Sambat year 1767, or ty-one years ago.

practice of all Hindus of whatever denomination. Not satisfied with one marriage, Banda, seeing the women of the north of India were fair to look upon, contracted further marriages with them of a morganatic or even of a still less conventional character. He, as a sequel to this conduct, began to talk incoherently, habitually shake his head, and make other gestures in maniac fashion. At lucid intervals he began to quarrel with the Sikhs who still remained faithful to him. He said he was entitled to the Sikh sovereignty, that he would seat himself on the throne of Lahore, and reward with revenue free lands those followers of Gobind who preserved their allegiance to him. On hearing this mixture of impiety and baseless promise, the Sikh soldiers were, in the words of the Sikh metrical chronicler, irritated like tigers aroused from sleep.

Folly perpetrated by a religious fanatic has rarely the effect of producing a general estrangement of his followers. The disciples and adherents of Banda endeavoured to induce him to openly proclaim his own religion, while he yet possessed sufficient political influence and authority. Their suggestions were seconded by his own yearnings and ambition. He had acquired broad lands in the Punjab, he had rendered himself more powerful than the Sodhis, the custodians of the sacred volume of Arjan, and he thought he could dispense with the services of his hitherto faithful Sikh allies. His demeanour towards the Sikhs became daily more irritating and offensive. He depreciated their religion, sought to discover faults in their conduct, and at last openly proclaimed that he would establish himself as Guru and offer hecatombs of Sikh opponents to the blood-delighting Kali. Such sacrifices, initiated and sanctioned by Gobind, Banda declared necessary for the success of a new religion; and his would succeed, when he had filled with human blood the *khapar* or sacred cups of the malevolent deity.

Banda thereupon proclaimed his own religion. The blue clothes of the Sikhs were to be laid aside, and garments dyed red with extract of safflower, a colour strictly forbidden by Gobind, were to be worn by his followers; and red turbans were to be wound round their heads for the sake of further distinction. They were enjoined to purify firewood before its introduction into their cooking places, and to rigidly abstain from meat and wine. "Wah Guruji ke fatali," "victory to the Guru," the war cry of Gobind, was to be changed to "darshan fatah," or "victory to the divine presence." The customs of warfare and the observances of daily life which the Guru had contrived as suitable for his followers and conducive to their success, were all denounced, ridiculed, and discarded. Guru Gobind in his intercourse with the world had carefully excogitated the rules of guidance he laid down for his followers; Banda, a man

merely brave and successful in war, was possessed of no worldly or political experience; and he sought to effect alterations, social and religious, with all the confidence of stupendous ignorance.

His few remaining Sikh allies saw that Banda's designs and ambition were hopeless. They told him that he had not been their Guru, but only their guardian and secular leader; and they wished to return to the rule of Gobind, who had been their real secular and ghostly father. Even as Krishna had lived in his youth among cowherds, but returned in his maturity to his parents; or as young cuckoos, born in a raven's nest, soon abandon their companions and adopt the habits of their species, so the Sikhs would abandon and follow the precepts of their rightful Guru. The enmity between the Sikhs and the followers of Banda reached a state of open warfare. The Sikhs took up their abode in Gurchak (Amritsar), and there fortified themselves. Banda affected to congratulate himself on having separated from them, and announced his intention of capturing Lahore, and thence continuing his career of conquest to distant Peshawar and Kashmir. He considered that when he had left the Sikhs to themselves, they would be attacked and defeated by the Musalmans, and then gladly sue for his assistance in their difficulties.

The Musalmans were everjoyed on hearing of Banda's severance from the Sikhs, and sent an embassy to induce them to further combine against him. As Buonaparte in Egypt at a later time proclaimed that his soldiers were Musalmans, and deserved the gratitude of the Turks for having expelled the Christian knights of Malta, so the ambassador of the Delhi Emperor averred that his master and his master's army were all of the sect of Baba Nanak, as described by the Sikh elders. The same God, they said, had made Baba Nanak and Babar. Banda was a worshipper of idols which Nanak rejected. A principle of the Musalmans is to destroy idols, and they therefore claimed religious brotherhood with the iconoclastic Sikhs. It is not clear whether the Sikhs joined the Musalmans in opposing Banda's attempt on Lahore, or merely held aloof from him. But it is certain that he was defeated by the Emperor's forces, and now himself sued in vain for the assistance of his old allies. On their refusal, he saw that his defeat and death were inevitable. He ordered his followers to lay down their arms, as he had decided to surrender himself to the Musalmans. He directed the large gate of the Lahore fortress to be thrown open, and he offered himself to death by the missiles of the enemy. No such honourable termination of his career, however, awaited him. He was loaded with irons, put into an iron cage, and taken before the Emperor at Delhi. Then was enacted a scene not unlike that in Jerusalem of old before the Roman procurator. The Kazi

arraigned Banda and demanded his death; Farakhsher the Emperor declined to sanction the execution, and asked the Kazi to point out justificatory texts from the law of the Prophet. This was as easy to the Kazi as to the Jews who arraigned Christ before Pontius Pilate,\* and Banda's execution was accordingly sanctioned. Banda was then put to a painful and ignominious death, and his corpse was dealt with as he had dealt with the corpse of the Governor of Sirhind. It may be added that in after days Banda's followers denied his execution by Farakhsher, and asserted that he escaped from death by the spells of supernatural agency.

Meantime, as previously stated, Gobind Singh had died in the Dekhan. It is the general opinion of Sikh historians that he deliberately compassed his own destruction. He had done what lay in him for the Sikh cause; he had established new rules for his followers; his political power was overthrown, and he saw no hope of reviving it; and so, like the god-like Nazarene of old, he determined upon his own death.† He persuaded the sons of Painda Khan to assassinate him in revenge for the murder of their father, and they reluctantly smote him with a dagger. A moment of regret ensued, and he allowed his wounds to be bound up. His life soon seemed to be out of danger, when his mind again became reconciled to death and judged it the better portion.‡ He purposely bent an enormous bow so as to burst open his wounds, and then allowed himself to bleed to death.

It is probable that the Guru, whose sons had all been massacred by the Musalmans, and who had been separated from his people, would have declared Banda his successor, if he had been more loyal to him and had left unperpetrated the many acts of folly above enumerated. Gobind's confidence in Banda in particular and in human nature in general was irretrievably shaken. He declared he was the last of the Gurus, that he had delivered the Sikh commonwealth to God the immortal, and that after his own death those who wished to commune with him in the spirit could do so by perusing the great writings of his faith.

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\* Christ was put to death in obedience to the law of the Jews contained in the first five verses of the XIII Chapter of the book of Deuteronomy. It is difficult to avoid endorsing M. Renan's observation on the circumstance:—"Si, au lieu de poursuivre les Juifs d'une haine aveugle, le christianisme eût aboli le régime qui tua son fondateur, combien il eût été plus conséquent, combien il eût mieux mérité du genre humain!"

† "La terreur, l'hésitation s'emparer-

ent de lui, et le jetèrent dans une défaillance pire que la mort. L'homme qui a sacrifié à une grande idée son repos et les récompenses légitimes de sa vie éprouve toujours un moment de retour triste, quand l'image de la mort se présente à lui pour la première fois, et cherche à lui persuader que tout est vain." "Jesus" par M. Renan.

‡ "Il pouvait encore éviter la mort; il ne le voulut pas. L'amour de son œuvre l'emporta. Il accepta de boire le calice jusqu'à la lie." *Idem.*

The martial spirit infused into the Sikhs was not soon lost, as their many victories over their Musalman neighbours, and their manly opposition to British troops can testify. Their new mode of life produced a change even in the physique and aspect of the people,\* and attention to their sacred books and forms of stated prayer induced a mental discipline which operated favourably on their intellect. It is no part of my present design to enter on any account of the Sikh wars or Sikh struggles for political supremacy after the death of Gobind and Banda. And it would be tedious, if not impossible, to note the minor changes of religion that gradually resulted when the Sikh people were left without a Guru, when every Sikh priest put his own interpretation on the Granth, and when the ever wily Brahmins directed their skillfully contrived attacks against the formidable reformation. I pass at once to an account of the present state and present corruptions of the Sikh religion.

The followers of Gobind, the tenth and last guru, are as previously stated, called Singhs or lions. The followers of Nának and of his eight successors are known simply as Sikhs. These are sub-divided into Udásis, Nának Shahis, Adan Shahis and Suthra Shahis, minor sects which it is not necessary at present to fully describe. They all believe in the "Adi Granth," or first Granth compiled by Arjan, but not in the volume compiled by Guru Gobind. For this reason Gobind's followers consider Nának's followers heterodox. Nának's followers in return despise the imputation, avoid contact with Gobind's followers, and sometimes lead an ascetic life like Hindu mendicants.

The Singhs are secular or religious. Of the latter there are three classes: Akálís, Nibangs, and Nirmillas. All orthodox Sikhs must always have five appurtenances whose names begin with the letter K. These are spoken of by Sikhs as the five K's, and are—the Kes or long hair, the Kirpan, a small knife with an iron handle round which the Kes, thus rolled, is fastened on the head, the Kachh or drawers, and the Kara, an iron bangle, for the wrist. While smoking and shaving any part of the person are strictly prohibited, the strict culinary ceremonies of the Hindus are relaxed. Excepting the flesh of the cow, the Sikhs are allowed to partake of all animal food and of many other viands held in abomination by the Hindus.

Notwithstanding the exertions and exhortations of the gurus,

\* This change in the aspect of people may, it seems, be produced in several ways. Thus it has been said that the dignified expression of several Italian peasant women is due to an habitual contemplation of the sculpture and painting with which Italy everywhere abounds.

the Sikhs of the Punjab have now completely relapsed into idolatry, and, excepting that they still wear long hair, retain a few other external marks of the Sikh religion, and pay a reverence to the Granth which they carry to adoration, their worship in all respects resembles that of the Hindus. They adore idols, visit Hindu places of pilgrimage, bathe in rivers sacred in the estimation of the Hindus, and spend their substance on presents to Brahmins. They employ Brahmins to marry them, to read services of purification, to perform their funeral obsequies, and generally, all the duties for which the laity of every religion are wont to employ priestly agency. The Hindu corruptions of the religion of Nānak and Gobind are now bitterly deplored\* by all educated and intelligent Sikhs. But as it has been found that, amid the universal corruption of the Christian Church in the middle ages, the Albigensis, a small sect of hardy and intelligent mountaineers, preserved the pristine purity of their faith amid their Alpine fastnesses, so amid the general corruption of the religion of Gobind there are to be found about one hundred Sikhs at Naderh † in the Dakhan, who are said to have up to the present time preserved intact the faith and ceremonies of Guru Gobind. They have kept aloof from the contact of Brahmins. Brahmin ministrations are not permitted either at their births, their marriages, or their obsequies. Whether they be Brahmins or Sudras who receive the sacramental *pahul*, all are by this fact at once admitted within a pale of social and religious equality. Brahmin weds Sudra, and Sudra weds Brahmin. No need, therefore, to put their infant daughters to death through fear of not obtaining for them husbands of their own social status, as is the custom among such a large section of the Sikhs of the Panjab. And widow marriages, reprobated by Hindus, and now consequently by the Sikhs of the Panjab are habitually solemnized with the clearest conscience among the Sikhs of Naderh.†

Nearly the same emancipation from prejudice characterized the Sikhs of Patna where the tenth Guru was born. But a short time since some priests of Amritsar settled there, and both by precept and example introduced their own narrow-minded and corrupt practices. At Patna, as at Naderh, the Sikhs pay the strictest attention to the injunctions of Guru Gobind. Sleeping or waking, they are never without the habiliments known as the "five Ks." So strong is the aversion of the more orthodox among them to Hindus, that they will not even partake of food cooked by

\* This place is known to the Sikhs as Abchallanagar, the immovable.

† I have not visited that part of

the country, and this portion of my paper, at least, is open to correction.



their hands. This is carrying orthodoxy a long way, but still further is it carried when they will not partake of food cooked even by a Sikh who has not on his person all the "five Ks." It is almost unnecessary to add, that neither the Sikhs of Patna nor those of Naderh ever visit Hindu places of pilgrimage. And while thousands of Panjabi Sikhs have visited Hardwar, Benares, and Gaya, where they have placed themselves completely under the spiritual direction of the Brahmins, few or none have made pilgrimages to Patna or Naderh, where they could see their religion in something like its primitive purity.

The Akális are the most enthusiastic members of the Sikh faith. Their origin dates from the time of the tenth and last Guru. Their name is derived from one of the epithets of God, Akál,\* the eternal or immortal, a word which they are supposed to frequently ejaculate. They wear a blue dress and lofty turbans which they call *dumbála* or high-tailed. These turbans are ornamented with steel discs or quoits, daggers, and knives. The Akalis appear to employ their turbans as our ladies employed chatelaines a few years ago, namely, to carry handy domestic article of frequent use. In an Urdu paper prepared for me by one of the chief priests of the temple, the Akalis are styled the most ignorant, cruel, and rapacious of the followers of Gobind Singh. But they would, in case of necessity, prove brave and determined soldiers, and devote themselves to death as of yore in the cause of the holy Khalsa. Most of them professedly adopt celibacy in which, however, chastity is not always an appreciable factor. And the few who are married are not capable either by their influence or the purity of their lives of retrieving the reputation of their much defamed monkish brethren.

Authorities differ as to the origin of the blue dress. One writer states that the blue dress is an imitation of the blue dress of Krishna, the well-beloved shepherd-god of the forest of Brindaban. Another states that the blue dress was adopted in imitation of Guru Gobind, who by means of it escaped from his enemies. In the time of the Emperor Aurangzeb, Gobind was closely and dangerously pursued by the imperial troops into the fortress of Chamkaur. He succeeded by the aid of a dark night and the gratitude of two Mughal soldiers in escaping to Bahlolpur. Here, too, his safety was not assured, and, donning the blue dress of a Mecca pilgrim and personating the Musalmán priest of Uch, he made his way to the wastes of Bhatinda. It may, however, be here mentioned, that long before

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\* From ~~च~~ not and ~~का~~ death. form or tangible manifestation (see In "Guru Gobind Singh ki Sakhian" the 97th Sahhi). Akal is said to mean God, who has no

Muhammad appeared in the world, blue was a sacred color among the Egyptians and Hebrews. The blue costume which travellers remark worn by natives of Egypt at the present day, is as old as the Pharaohs.\*

In most of the exoteric observances of the Sikhs a deep purpose may be traced. When fighting was part of a Sikh's duty, it was deemed necessary that his head should be properly protected with steel rings; and long hair with knives concealed in it protected that part of the person from sword-cuts. The *kachh*, or drawers, fastened by a waistband, was more convenient and suitable for warriors than the insecurely tied *safa* of general Indian wear. A Sikh's physical strength was kept intact by the use of meat dreaded by the Hindus; and, the better to assist in this object, he was enjoined to abstain from the pernicious drugs, tobacco and bhang, then so freely consumed by both Hindus and Musalmáns.

Among the religious orders of the Sikhs in the Panjab, the Akalis may be said to preserve whatever remain of the customs of the last Guru. When they marry, they do not, like the other Sikhs, call a Brahmin to perform the nuptial ceremony. A Sikh priest is summoned. He reads the Anand, or epithalamium, composed by Guru Arjan Das. A sheet is then thrown over the bride and bridegroom, the well-known *chádur-dálna* marriage ceremony of the Panjab. The holy Granth is used as a witness on the occasion, instead of fire, which is an invariable concomitant of Hindu marriage ceremonies. Karaparshad is then offered to the Granth, and distributed among the guests, after which the ceremony is complete.

The Sikh priest who has favoured me with this information, considers this marriage knot superior to the elaborate one of the Hindus. It is cheap, simple, and equally efficacious! Not only in the matter of marriage, but of other ceremonies also, is the Akali still more intelligent than his co-religionists. He does not, by piercing his ears and wearing ear-rings, render himself effeminate, or give a handle of attack to his enemies if ever engaged in close combat. When any of his friends dies, he does not call a Brahmin to read the mortuary service, or heap upon him a large recompense for his idle ministrations. The Akali, instead of this, bestows alms on poor Sikhs, and he collects his friends to read the Granth with him, and pray that the soul of his deceased relation may be speedily relieved from transmigrations.

The strictest of the Akalis have acquired the epithet Bibeki,†

\* See Mr. Bonwick's "Egyptian Belief and modern Thought."

† This word is derived from the Sanskrit विवेक which in the Ved-

antic system means the discrimination of the universal spirit from the visible world.

the discriminating, or the conscientious. These have engrafted all the prejudices of Hinduism on the bigotry of the Akalis. With all the irrational asceticism of the Vaishnu sect of Hindus, the Bibekis will not eat flesh or even partake of any article of food or drink which they have not prepared with their own hands. To such an extent is this carried, that they will not even taste food cooked by their wives, eat fruit purchased in the market, or drink water which they have not themselves drawn from the well. They consider it a sin to eat bare-headed, and will pay a fine (*tankhwah*) to the temple if they do so even inadvertently. They do not remove hair from any part of their persons. For the Hindu *janeo*, or Brahminical thread, they wear a sword. They are very strict in wearing the five articles of Sikh dress, whose names begin with a *K*. They will not drink water without immersing in it a knife or dagger. And, with an irrational mixture of spiritual pride and spiritual humility, they think themselves equal to the tenth spiritual king, Gobind, while at the same time they acknowledge themselves his disciples.

The asceticism of this class not only extends to these bigoted observances, but also to their ordinary conversation. They add the word "Singh," which is peculiar to the Sikh religion, as an affix to all substantives and sometimes to other parts of speech. For instance, instead of saying, "Put the inkstand on the table," they say "Put the inkstand Singh on the table Singh." Another verbal peculiarity of theirs may be mentioned. It is well known that in Hindustani, as in French and Italian, all substantives are either masculine or feminine. The Bibekis, with pharisaical ostentation, never use a word of the feminine gender. If haply an object can only be expressed by one word which is feminine, they alter its distinctive termination. Thus the word *kanghi*, a comb, in such frequent use among the Sikhs who religiously wear long hair, is grammatically feminine; but when a Bibeki has occasion to use the word, he says *kangha*, changing the final feminine into a masculine vowel, thus altering the gender of the word, and religiously and prudently preserving himself from the contact or presence of even feminine substantives.

Some of the Akalis call themselves Nihangs. It is said, that one day there appeared before the tenth Guru an Akali in a lofty turban to which were attached miniatures of all the weapons of warfare employed at that period. The Guru was pleased and said, that the man looked like a *nihang* or crocodile. The Guru saw that the turban gave a ferocious appearance to the religious warrior, and forthwith recommended it to his followers. The high-peaked turbans of the Nihangs are said by others to have had their origin in one of the marauding expeditions of Zamán Shah against the

Sikhs. The latter on one occasion were few in number and unable to cope in fair fight with their adversaries. They therefore put on the high-peaked turbans of the Turki soldiers, went armed among them at night, and completely destroyed them. The high turban was therefore permanently adopted as an auspicious article of costume. A third more probable account, however, is that on which the Sikh priests themselves appear to be generally agreed, namely, that the custom of wearing high-peaked turbans was first adopted in the time of Ranjit Singh. Bholá Singh, a man of prodigious stature, used to sit daily in the balcony of the Akál Búnga. His gigantic size appeared enhanced by his high-peaked turban; and his advice and example induced other Akális to adopt a similar head-gear. It soon became one of the distinctive articles of dress of their order.

The more insolent of the Akalis and those addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs, appear to have appropriated to themselves the designation Nihang. The word is in such bad odour in other parts of the Panjab, that a man is styled a Nihang who has taken to vicious ways and bad livelihood. All European travellers in the Panjab during the Sikh régime have complained of the gross insolence, and in some cases of the foul language or maledictions employed by these Nihangs, or Akális, to Christians. No such thing has, I believe, ever been witnessed in recent times. Several of the Akális still have, no doubt, a defiant air, but all of them with whom I have conversed I found uniformly courteous and civil. The same thing appears to prevail wherever British rule extends. The heat of religious intolerance seems to abate in the temperate atmosphere of our own toleration, if not religious indifference. Some years ago I remember on visiting the very ancient Musalmán shrine at Uch in the state of Bháwalpur, the attendants made defiant gestures and uttered what seemed to be at least very inhospitable cries as I rode past them. After some years during which the state of Bháwalpur had the advantage of an English administrator, I again visited Uch and found every thing had changed. The people at the mosque no longer looked defiantly on a Christian, no longer muttered deep imprecations upon his head, but "roared as gently as any sucking doves."\*

The Nirmillas form an ascetic class which is only nominally Sikh. Their speciality is a devotion to Sanscrit literature, from

\* Sir John Malcolm, in the beginning of the present century, foretold the decline of the Akális:—"Should Amritsar be no longer considered as the religious capital of the State in which all questions that involve the general interests of the Common-

wealth are to be decided, this formidable order would at once fall from that power and consideration which they now possess, to a level with other mendicants."

which they have imbibed the tenets and adopted the principles of the Brahmins. They do not, therefore, though baptized Sikhs, deem the *pahul*, or ceremony of initiation, of vital importance. Many of them have doffed their long hair with the reformed religion of their fathers; and the number of those who adopt such a heretical practice is daily increasing. For the *kachh* or drawers, valued next to long hair by the Sikhs, the Nirmillas substitute the insecure *langota* of Hindu fakirs. And, to crown their iniquities, they wear an ochre-coloured garment called *bhāgwa*, which is forbidden to all true followers of Guru Gobind. They are considered the most moral and upright class among the Sikhs.

The name Nirmilla arose in the following way:—One day when sweetmeats were being distributed to the Sikhs in the presence of Gobind, there was a savage rush made towards the distributors. The Guru was much displeased, and read his followers a sharp lesson on the demerits of greed. Observing at a distance, one solitary man who practised patience and kept his place, Gobind enquired his name: "My name is Nirmal Singh" said the Sikh, "Nirmal," replied the Guru, "Nirmal (without impurity) art thou, and Nirmal shall be thy followers." The present Nirmallas claim to be descendants of the Sikh thus honoured by the praise and favourable vaticination of the Guru.

Truly wonderful are the strength and vitality of the Hindu religion. Hinduism is like the boa-constrictor of the Indian forests. When a petty enemy appears to worry it, it winds round its opponent, crushes it in its folds, and finally causes it to disappear in its capacious interior. In this way, many centuries ago, Hinduism in its own ground disposed of Buddhism, which was simply a Hindu reformation; in this way in a pre-historic period it absorbed the religion of the Scythian invaders of Northern India; in this way it has converted uneducated Islām in India into a semi-paganism; and in this way it is disposing of the reformed and once hopeful religion of Baba Nānak. Hinduism has embraced Sikhism in its folds; the still comparatively young religion is making a vigorous struggle for life, but its ultimate destruction and assimilation in the body of the huge and resistless leviathan is inevitable. Notwithstanding the Sikh Gurus' virulent denunciation of Brahmins, secular Sikhs, as we have seen, now rarely do any thing without their assistance. Brahmins help them to be born, help them to wed, help them to die, and help their souls after death to obtain a state of bliss. And Brahmins, with all the deftness of Roman Catholic missionaries in Protestant countries, have partially succeeded in persuading the Sikhs to restore to their niches the images of Devi, the Queen of Heaven, and of the saints and gods of the ancient faith.

## ART. IX.—PERSECUTION ON THE WESTERN GHATS.

THE celebrated lines of Æschylus, as translated by Mr. Robert Browning,—

“Zeus who leads onwards mortals to be wise,  
Appoints that suffering masterfully teach,”

must often flash across the mind of the “true reformer” in India as he thinks of the difficulties which are encountered in the redress of the most reasonable grievances. Departmental government carries with it most of the advantages which belong to a division of labour. But it has one obvious defect. The horizon of the officer engaged throughout his whole service in a special department must be limited. He is apt to lose sight of the effect which his operations are producing on a wider circle of social and administrative interests than that which his own depressed standpoint enables him to survey. Another man may observe the danger and predict mischief, but he is at once met with the answer that he cannot see the technical difficulties which are involved in the change of tactics which he is advocating. At last, however, the catastrophe which was seen at a distance occurs, the curtain falls on a tragedy which touches the public conscience, and the departmental obstructor is hissed off the stage. Then the wail of suffering and persecution, which was so long unheeded, is borne along by the breeze of public sympathy, until the chorus of official protest is swelled into a cry of popular indignation, and reform can no longer be pushed on one side as injurious to the credit or interests of a special department.

Unfortunately however the lesson which suffering teaches in this slow but masterful fashion is too soon forgotten. Each province of the empire must acquire its own experience, and so rapid and frequent are the transformations of Indian society that even in the same province a lesson acquired by one generation of officials, must be re-learned by the same tedious and cruel process by their successors. The only remedy against this evil lies in a full and public discussion, which distributes the experience of one province over the wider area of the empire, and illustrates the universal tendency of certain theories by their actual results in particular localities. In the Western Highlands of India the combined action of a rigid revenue system and a strict forest conservancy has entailed sufferings on the half-civilized population of the Ghat villages which have at last demanded the prompt intervention of the Bombay Government. The story of their struggle for

existence would fill one of the most tragic chapters of Indian history. But the lesson is not one which need only be read in one part of India. The circumstances are doubtless not without a parallel in other mountain tracts of the empire; and similar catastrophes will recur elsewhere unless public attention is thoroughly roused to the danger which is threatened whenever departmental doctrinaires are suffered to give the rein to over-zeal. The terror which the mere name of Forester has excited in the Ghatmatha or mountain region of the Sahyadri range is no phantom of exaggeration or native ignorance. Posterity will exclaim with the surprise of the philanthropic gentleman in Dickens' greatest work, "Can these things be?" Every class of society in the Western Ghats has learnt the meaning of persecution. The cultivators who, amidst deluges of rain, bring to maturity scanty crops of coarse grain by incredible industry and labour, have, during the last ten years, been cut off from the lands called kumri lands, which alone are suitable for agriculture. The Dhangars or herdsmen who, despite the ravages of wild beasts, have pastured their buffaloes from time immemorial on the mountain slopes are expelled from the forest reserves, and even the pools of water by the edict of the forest officer. The trade of the industrious iron smelters, and of the collectors of wax, honey, nuts, and other forest produce, is placed under the interdict of forest laws. Thus it has come to pass that a population of whose existence the Magistrates were hardly aware, has of late years been brought to the bar of public justice with unwonted frequency. It would indeed have astonished Lord Macaulay had he foreseen the weapon which section 425 of his Penal Code would place in the hands of the Forester in his unequal contest with these poor villagers. How such a state of affairs has been brought about, and what claims these subjects of the Queen-Empress possess on the generous sympathy of the public, is a question to which it is hoped the following pages will supply an answer:—

Of all the questions raised in this inquiry, the question of kumri cultivation has attracted the largest attention. A reference to the old revenue manuals and records of the Bombay Presidency gives an imperfect description of rab and kumri or dahli cultivation, which are almost treated as synonymous terms. In the days when forest persecution was unknown, the distinction between these methods of agriculture was of little importance. But it is now necessary to distinguish between them. Rab cultivation is largely practised on the outer fringe of the mountain districts as well as in the inner circle. In rab lands the soil is prepared with a plough or ruder implement, and the ashes of dry leaves, grass, reeds, or forest cuttings which have been burnt on the

field are left as manure.\* As soon as possible after the first good fall of rain the seed is sown broadcast, and after six weeks the seedlings are transplanted into land which has been prepared in the ordinary course of cultivation. It is immaterial whether the rab plots be on a slope or on the flat, whether the rainfall be excessive or light. The crop will accommodate itself to all these circumstances. On the other hand, kumri or dahli is a form of cultivation peculiar to the less precipitous slopes of the forest-clad rocks of the extreme Ghatmatha or central ridge of the Sahyadri range. The very thin layer of soil which barely covers the rock admits of no previous preparation. The scrub forest is felled, and left to dry. It is then burnt, and whatever soil can be scraped together by a rough bill-hook or axe is mixed with the ashes. After the burst of the monsoon the seed of nachni (*Eleusina Corocana*) is sown. There is no transplantation of the seedlings, but the success of the crop depends on the natural shelter which overhanging rocks may afford, and on the slope of the ground which carries off the deluge of rain. In many Ghat villages there are no other lands available for culture. As a rule only one crop of nachni can be grown on the same piece of land. It is necessary then to wait for six or seven years until nature has re-clothed the hill side with forest growth, and replaced the scanty layer of earth. But occasionally in favoured nooks the nachni crop is followed in the succeeding year by a coarser grain called wari (*Coix Barbata*), or in very rare instances by a third crop of karla or sesamum seed.

But whether a single crop, or a rotation of two or three crops, be possible, an inevitable and long period of fallow must succeed the exhaustion of the soil and the destruction of the brush wood and tangled forest growth. Only when time has repaired the mischief caused can the slope be again utilised for cultivation. In considering the agricultural condition of these isolated Ghat villages, the first important feature is the circumstance that only once in seven or more years can the soil be cropped. The second point to bear in mind is that, however large the village area may appear on the map, still the proportion available for cultivation may be very small. Flat land in these localities is as unsuitable for kumri as perpendicular slopes. In the former case, with the solid sub-stratum of rock barely covered with soil, the crops will rot from excess of moisture. In the latter, the excessive drainage of more than 200 inches of rain will wash away the seed and soil.

\* A shrub called Nirgudi, and Pangli afford excellent ashes. The ashes are not merely manure, but the baking of the ground by the action of fire exercises a beneficial chemical effect on the fertility of the nursery.



The favorably situated slopes are therefore few and excessively scattered ; but no distance or labour will deter the hardy mountaineer from reaching them by rope ladders, or scaling perpendicular walls of rock. Unfortunately, the forest officers overlooked these essential considerations when they commenced to mark off forest reserves without sufficient attention to the necessities of the people.

This brief description of cultivation amidst the precipices of the Ghats leads naturally to some account of the people who live there, and whose acquaintance every reader of the History of the Mahrattas has already made. Mr. Grant Duff introduces them in these terms :—"The mountain valleys were inhabited by a hardy poor race of people, whose industry exerted at all seasons scarcely procured them subsistence. Though armed to defend themselves against the attack of wild beasts, they were destitute of clothing : and the few miserable huts of which their villages were composed, were insufficient to protect them from the inclemency of the weather." Yet it must be confessed that their condition then was enviable as compared with the miseries which rigid forest laws have entailed upon them. But the manly characteristics of the Mawalīs have not deteriorated since 1638. Every sportsman has experienced their possession of the same hardihood, courage and fidelity which induced Sivaji to select the Highlanders as his body-guard in the attack on Poona in 1663, and his subsequent adventures. Scattered and almost lost as the Mawal villages appear in the dense forests and inaccessible rocks of the Western Ghats, it might have been expected that they would possess no social cohesion. But the reports tend to show that an intimate sympathy exists between all the hereditary wardens of the frequent hill forts which frown upon the Deccan plain, from the Tanna district to that of Canara, for a distance of 350 miles. At various times when pestilence or exceptional causes have depopulated a village, the hillmen of Savantwadi have sent forth colonies to re-people the hill tract ; and officers who are acquainted with the Ghats of Satara and Poona, have found there a population which still remembers its original connection with the Southern districts. There appears to be some difference of opinion as to their affection for their uncomfortable homes when circumstances have driven them into the more luxurious villages of the plains. All authorities are however unanimous in observing their natural reserve and shyness and their unwillingness to leave their mountain fastnesses. Colonel Thomas, whose familiarity with their habits was very great, asserts that their partiality for their old homes is not merely a natural instinct, but a sentiment which no experience of life in the plains can eradicate. He

remarks that, whenever from pressure of poverty they seek a livelihood elsewhere, it is only with the intention of returning to end their days on their savings in their Ghat homes. If in extreme cases a whole family emigrate, they depute some of their connexions to keep alive the light in their homes, not merely in order to keep their memory and claims in view, but also as a religious obligation. In Pargarh and elsewhere Colonel Thomas witnessed instances of this practice with his own eyes. The question is not merely one of theoretical interest; it is one of practical value in connexion with the endeavours which a civilized Government is making to reclaim this portion of its subjects from the life of extreme misery and hardship which continued residence on the malarious watershed must entail upon them.

Extreme devotion to their homes and a life inured to hardship are not the only characteristics of this interesting hill population. The testimony to their simplicity, truthfulness, and loyal peacefulness, is unimpeachable. Unlike the Waghirs, Bhils, and Kolis of the Northern districts whom waves of immigration and conquest have forced back from the plains of India into forest solitude or rocky fastness, the dwellers on the Western Ghats have never been a thorn in the side of Government. Undoubtedly, during the extreme agitation which the Deccan dacoities recently occasioned in Western India, the gangs of robbers found shelter, and perhaps some measure of sympathy, in the Ghat villages. But Hari Ram, Tatia, Chandia, Ganu and others, who were the leaders of the most successful of the robber gangs, lived in the villages which lie in the Deccan plain at the foot of the Ghats, and not in the highland hamlets which are the homes of the Mawalis. Mr. T. H. Stewart, whose acquaintance with the hill population from the Belgaum district to that of Ahmednagar, is greater than that of any other member of the Bombay Civil Service, thus defends them against the attacks of the forest officers, whose exclusive regard for the interests of forest conservancy had well nigh reduced the hillmen to desperation and starvation. He writes as follows :—"Morally, they are a race of men of whom any Government might be proud, quiet, inoffensive, self-reliant, independent, truthful, seldom appearing unfavorably in our criminal courts. If physically they are deficient, it is the result of insufficient food and hand-to-mouth living. If idle, it is because they have long had no outlet for labour without leaving their homes behind. If listless, because their prospects are far from bright. If improvidently they remain in their homes, when foreign territory is open to them, it is because they are hoping against hope that some day their condition may excite pity and move to relief. If these people have always been in their present miserable condition, then the

memories of my informants who can recal a period of twenty or even ten years must be strangely at fault, and history and tradition, which connect them with the most celebrated exploits in Mahatta history, must be in error."

A visitor to their wretched hamlets would observe many objects of interesting study. He would find there four separate classes, representing distinct stages of civilisation and economic progress. The agricultural community is represented by the Kulwadis, whose name indicates their pursuit of agriculture and their connexion with the Mahratta peasantry of the Dekkhan. The Dhangars, or cowherds (from "Dhenu" cow with the usual affix), form the pastoral community: whilst the Dhawads pursue the industry of iron-smelters. Lastly, there are Thakurs and Kolis, who are perhaps the aboriginal races, and who form a hunting community dependent upon the chase. Each class follows its own special avocation, and the small hamlets are rarely the scene of class prejudice and intolerance. The form of cultivation which the first class adopts has been already described; but the other classes merit some special attention, and each has its own grievance against the operations of the Forest laws. The Dhangars live the roving, free life of a pastoral community pasturing their cattle in the forests. They are a less muscular and hardy race than the Kulwadis, and during the recent dacoities they were forward in rendering information to Government and tracking dacoits through the forests and mountains. Their own interests and the ease with which they can be punished by the forfeiture of their cattle naturally enlist them on the side of order. The Dhangar will not keep goats or sheep, and is disgraced unless he keeps cattle. Without cattle he is unable to marry. Wandering through the forests, they rely on their cattle as a protection against tigers and panthers, and they declare that their buffaloes will at once range themselves in a circle round their keeper if the approach of a tiger is suspected. When the Dhangars are sufficiently numerous to live in a detached hamlet by themselves, they fortify the fronts of their houses and stables against the attack of tigers.

The Dhawads would afford an interesting study to the historian. Physically, they are distinguished from their Hindu neighbours by high cheek-bones, beards, and large lips. They are Mahomedans by religion, but their laxity and degradation would disgust any orthodox follower of the prophet. They adopt children and worship a god called Nath. Their morals are very lax, and they drink freely. Their language contains a considerable infusion of Hindustani. Their Hindu neighbours declare that 100 years ago none of them were to be found in the Ghats, and that they emigrated thither from Karad. But Karad itself is only one of a

chain of Mahomedan outposts which mark the progress of Mahomedan emigration from Bijapur and the Nizam's dominions. After the suppression of Mahomedan rule in Southern India, the scattered remnants of the conquering race must have wandered westwards, leaving everywhere in tombs and mosques the traces of their progress, until they found an asylum in the solitude and isolation of the Sahyadri range. There the Dhawads have made a last struggle for existence by iron-smelting. Life in the Ghat villages is insecure without an iron weapon, and every resident carries his bill-hook by a string round his loins. The laterite, which is the prevailing formation of the rocks, contains a variable proportion of peroxide of iron, of which 8 to 10 lbs. used to be obtained from one charge of their rude furnaces. The forests whilst they remained open furnished charcoal, and the Dhawads were able to minister to the wants of their neighbours, and support an honest though miserable existence. by their industry.

The Kolis and Thakurs are the least important of the four classes, and are regarded by the rest as quite different from themselves. Their broad chests and muscular frames naturally fit them for the chase. Some of them catch fish under the waterfalls, but the majority pursue large game with astonishing bravery. They will not hesitate to drive a panther into a cave and pursue him into it, and despatch him with their bill hooks and axes. No game is too insignificant. They will hunt squirrels and even unearth rats. These more exciting pursuits are supplemented by the collection of honey, wax, or other miscellaneous forest produce: and at all times they will attend the camp of any English officer who may visit the hills, for the opportunity of labour or sport which his visit may bring.

The useful class of Mhars, or inferior village servants, so essential to the convenience of village communities in the Dekkhan, is also to be found in the Ghats. Most of them are Batulele Mhars, who have been expelled from caste for eating the flesh of the cow. The severe distress which the Highland villagers constantly have to undergo, and the temptation which the herds of the Dhangars offer to satisfy hunger by partaking of the flesh of their buffaloes, which are constantly killed by tigers, would easily account for the growth of this class. But it may be regarded as a degraded portion of the Kulwadi class rather than a separate class of the Ghat community.

All four classes live in amicable relations with each other, although they pursue different avocations, and do not intermarry as might be expected. Their conception of god is confined to his terrible attributes, and superstition plays the chief part in their religion. The screech of the brown wood-owl is of terrible import,

and they use the head of the cobra as a charm. Every hamlet has its temple in which indications of snake and tree-worship abound. A place is also assigned to the special tutelary god, or the sprite of the particular village. The Hindus have borrowed from the Hindu Pantheon Bhairava, or Bheru (the terrific,) who, as Siva's son, appears with a ghastly head and a bowl of blood, whilst two dogs are waiting to share the horrid feast. Apart from the temple the miserable huts which form the village are congregated. They are built on the same plan of dab and wattle with a frame-work of karvi reeds plastered with mud, covered by a thatched roof. The Kolis and Dhangars are particular in selecting sites for their huts near springs. The dress of all classes is scanty, consisting of languti and Dhotur, with occasionally a pugri. Every one carries his bill-bokk. The Kolis and Dhawads are addicted to strong drink. At certain times they will all eat together, and no one objects to game or mutton. But their usual fare is very scant and hard. The traveller will often find difficulty in obtaining even a coarse chapati, and if one is brought out for his inspection and taste, the uneaten fragment is carefully preserved for a future meal. In prosperous times they eat nachni, wara, and nagli with the root and fruits of the forest, of which the Jambul (*Syzygium Jambolanum*), the Hirda (*Terminalia Chebula*), the jack fruit and arrowroot are the most important. But during times of famine and severe distress even these are wanting. In some of the Ghat villages during the last famine the survivors subsisted for months on the underground sheaths of the wild plantain. Crabs also were freely eaten, being coaxed out of their hiding places by scratching on the top of the boulders under which they lived. The effects of the famine are clearly traced in the diminished number of wild plantains and other roots, the supply of which was nearly exhausted by the demand for them.

From this review of the character and habits of the native society which hides itself in the rocks and forests of Western India, it is necessary now to pass to a consideration of the effects which British administration has produced upon their condition. But before doing so it is well to anticipate criticism by proving from official sources that the tale of their deplorable state is no exaggeration of fancy or sentiment. Whilst the last embers of the mutiny were still smouldering, without having kindled any spark of insurrection or even excitement in the minds of the loyal inhabitants of the Ghats, a British officer wrote in despairing tones of the "pitiful cries of distress which reach me from the hill tribes." In 1859 Mr. Seton-Karr reported that numbers were starving to death, and the rest

barely supporting life on the roots of plantains and cocoa-nuts. But affairs after that drifted from bad to worse, until any other race than the Kulwadis and Kolis would have been lashed into a frenzy of despair and rebellion at the indifference of Government to their fate. In 1873 Mr. Stewart, an Assistant Collector in Belgaum, wrote an admirable report, which opened up the question of kumri cultivation and led to important results. A few figures will show the desperate pass to which things had come from the manner in which forest reservation had even then been pushed on without regard to the necessities of cultivation. In 17 villages of the Bidi Taluka, which contained a population of 3,307 and an area of 87,137 acres, only 1,738 acres were under cultivation. In other words one acre in 50 was cultivated, and the area of cultivation per head was  $\frac{1}{50}$  acre of rocky ground. In a village called Chorle 598 persons subsisted on 60 acres. In Holde 7 acres were supposed to feed 60 people, whilst 5 acres in Tanali were assigned for the same number of 60. Eight villages on the edge of the Ghat with 1,624 souls had only 311 acres, and the land was unusually sterile. Nor were the small parcels of culturable land always held by the villagers themselves, for even here the money-lender had extended his hateful operations. The rice-land yielded most inferior kinds of rice, and the dry crop land was so stony and unfertile that long years of fallow had to succeed a year of cultivation before the soil could be recropped. The rainfall in every case was so excessive as to injure the crops, and the village lands were rugged hill, steep precipices or deep ravines. The lands most suitable for kumri were carefully closed as forest reserve. These and other reports made a great impression, and on May 5, 1874, the Government of Bombay published a Resolution in which they placed on record their deliberate conviction that the existing restrictions could not be maintained unless the villages in the Ghats were to be depopulated, or the people reduced to such straits as no civilized Government could tolerate. How the hillmen had been reduced to such straits, and were subsequently reduced to even greater, is a question upon the consideration of which we must now enter. The blow under which they staggered was the Revenue system of Bombay, and they fell prostrate before the forest conservancy rules. The great change which the Bombay revenue system introduced was to substitute a fixed annual rent for the possession of land for a crop assessment which had formerly been levied only on land actually cultivated. Any hillman cultivating a survey number became the possessor of it, and liable to pay rent on it whether it lay fallow or not, and whether it produced a crop or the crop rotted before it attained maturity.

A system suited to the regular and annually recurring cultivation

of the plains was unsuited to the capricious and peculiar character of kumri cultivation. The revenue officers were not allowed to relax the rules, and their rigidity and unsuitability to the high-land villages brought distress on these industrious cultivators. But ruin was not inevitable so long as the forests were still open to them. They could cut wood, gather nuts, collect honey and wax, quarry stone and pasture their cattle on the slopes. At length, however, even these last resources of a half-starved and fever-stricken population were taken from them. The denudation of the hill sides had attracted the anxious attention of Government, and Imperial policy could not be arrested by the cries of distress which no public ear could hear, nor public press repeat.

The interests of the Forest Department clashed with those of the poor hillman, and the weaker naturally went to the wall. The interests of the former are so important that it is necessary in any impartial review to give a full account of them. The tract of country which is under consideration is the watershed of half of India, the catchment area of some of its greatest tanks and canals and the source of the mighty streams which find their outlet in the Bay of Bengal after running a course of many hundreds of miles. The welfare of millions of British subjects, their protection against famine and drought, and the stability of public works which have cost millions sterling, depend upon the character of the vegetation with which the summit and the slopes of the Sahyadri range are clothed. If the vast volume of water which the monsoon pour in a deluge of 280 inches upon the Ghats is not regulated by the protection of forest growth and vegetation, the detritus of the hills is hurled down into the torrents and carried into the Kharakwasla lake, or the canals, causing them to silt up in a few years. It is calculated that no less than 20,000 tons of water are poured down annually on a square acre of land in the central range of the Ghats. The erosive force of such a torrent needs no description. The rapidity of the drainage carries off this volume of water with a violence which does material damage to river banks, bridges, culverts, and embankments, whilst it also exhausts, in a few months, a supply which the thickly-populated plains of India require for a year. No champion of the interests of the Ghat villagers will deny that the public interests of the many outweigh the sufferings of a few, and that some interference on the part of Government to protect the Sahyadri range from denudation is imperatively called for. Enough has been said of the character of kumri cultivation to justify the aversion with which it is regarded by the forester and the statesman. But unfortunately these considerations were allowed for a time to have undue sway in the Councils of Government. The Bombay Government had laid down the principle that

kumri must be regarded as an evil which should only be tolerated to the extent of absolute necessity. Sir Philip Wodehouse, in the course of a long tour along the edge of the outer spurs and slopes of the Ghats, had been pursued by numerous deputations of half-starved hill-tribes, whose physical condition of disease and distress had excited his utmost sympathy. Impressed alike by his own observation and the unanimous opinions of the revenue officers, he had placed on record an opinion that the demands of forest conservancy must be satisfied without entailing on a harmless and industrious population such sufferings as no civilized Government could tolerate. But his successor arrested the reforms which this indication of policy was intended to effect. The rein was given to the zeal of the forest officers, and within a few years the catastrophe was evident which the Bombay Government are now striving to avert. In what spirit the Forest Department proceeded to conserve imperial interests has now to be shown.

The creation of forest reserves had commenced long before the Forest Act of 1878 became law. The inquiry into rights of property, pasture or easements which that Act requires, was little heeded in the first rush of zeal and energy with which the foresters hastened to build up their department. It seemed so natural that perpendicular rocks, the crest of the range, the hollows and the base of the Sahyadri range—in fact the Ghatmatta, the Khoras, and the Mooras—should all be included in one thorough and satisfactory scheme of forest reserve. What was kumri to the forest officer who had never heard of it? The population could seek a livelihood elsewhere, and they must be driven out from their highland homes by laying the forests, the slopes, the mines, the pasturage and all rights of way or rights to water, under the interdiction of a forest notification. The scheme looked well on paper, but it took no account of the passionate love of their homes, and their dread of the plains from which their ancestors had been driven, which is an instinct of the Mawalis. The people did not retire, but they staid to starve in their homes. A few were driven by hunger to infringe the forest rights which had been wrested from them without any inquiry into their prescriptive title. Mr. Stewart reported that he shuddered to think of the numbers of peaceful and industrious subjects of the Queen who had seen the inside of British gaols for pursuing their industries as they had been accustomed to do from time immemorial. The introduction of the Forest Act made little difference in the proceedings of the forest officers. Orders were issued to make large additions in every Ghat district to the forest reserves. Sir R. Temple threw himself with characteristic energy into the work, and the protests of the District officers were unheeded. Had Government then paused and collected the informa-



tion which it has since acquired, there can be no doubt that the ability and penetration of Sir Richard would have made him modify the impetuosity of the "thorough and satisfactory system of conservancy" which the conservator of forests was blindly advocating. As it was, lists of numbers fitted for Forest reserves were ordered to be prepared with speed for early notification. In some cases these lists were returned to the Collector with orders that they should be largely increased and returned within three weeks' time. The monsoon had burst when these orders were issued, and it was impossible to visit the Ghat villages. No extra agency for making inquiries was sanctioned, and yet the orders were so peremptory that in some cases the lists were not even submitted through the proper departmental channel. In short; no rights were respected, and the inevitable consequence was ignored.

That consequence was, however, soon apparent. The majority of the Ghat villagers, smarting under a sense of broken faith, took every constitutional method of appealing against their deprivation of rights which involved nothing short of starvation. In one district, that of Admednagar, some villages treated the edicts of the forest officer with contempt. The magistracy declined to convict the cultivators who continued to pursue their *kumri* system of agriculture, and the forest penalties could not be enforced. Elsewhere the people obeyed the law, but protested against their exclusion from the forests. Every class of the Ghat community was equally affected. The Kulwadis wanted land for cultivation: the Dhangers cried out for pasturage and access to the water supplies: and the Dhawads complained of their exclusion from the quarries in which they had worked from time immemorial. The Governor, on his visit to Mahabaleshwar, was waited on by numerous deputations who had travelled immense distances to lay their grievances before him. The district officers were followed on their tours by half-starved hillmen, whose misery drove them into the plains against their natural instinct. The medical assistants in charge of the dispensaries on the skirts of the Ghats reported the extraordinary increase of cases of round worms, which they attributed to insufficient and badly-cooked food. Even the women and children who had helped their families by collecting *hirda* nuts (*Myrobalan*), or honey and bees' wax, found that the collection was restricted within certain limits; and even within these limits they were obliged to deal with a contractor to whom in many cases the collection of miscellaneous forest produce was sold by auction. The pressure which this chorus of discontent and protest exerted was irresistible. The administration had meanwhile passed into new hands: and Sir James Fergusson, unpledged to either party, was able to take a calm and impartial view of the situation. He was not

inclined to overlook the importance of the imperial interests involved in promoting the re-forestment of the Ghats. At the same time the deliberate opinion of Sir Philip Wodehouse stood on record as a protest against the extreme measures which had lately been adopted. Under these circumstances he determined to adopt a middle course, and, whilst retracting the steps taken in the last few months, to make no concession until the necessity for it was indisputably shown. •

The concessions made have therefore been jealousy guarded, and some description of them may now be given. In order that the cultivators might raise sufficient crops for the population of the highland villages, it was necessary to re-allot them land for *kumri*. But such re-allotments have only been sanctioned in exceptional tracts where two conditions are observed. The first condition is that the tract should be isolated and far removed beyond the range of markets, and where labour and other sources of subsistence are not to be procured. The other condition depends on the configuration of the country and its adaptation to the *kumri* form of cultivation. The wants of one village, as compared with those of another not even far distant, depend entirely on this consideration, and vary therefore indefinitely. In these special tracts concessions have been made, which again are carefully guarded against abuse. For the Government still recognise to the full the objections to which *kumri* cultivation is liable, and look forward to a time when it may be stopped without entailing on the people such sufferings as no civilized Government can tolerate. With this view a limit is fixed for the area assigned to *kumri*, so that it may never exceed half an acre per head of the population in the Ghat village, or 4 acres per head for a period of 8 years including fallow. This is the maximum assignment, and in point of fact it has hardly ever been reached. The rules regarding rotation are extremely strict. The whole area assigned is divided into blocks according to the number of years which it will take the land to recover and re-forest itself after cultivation. If, for instance, the land bears a rotation of crops for two years, then it must lie absolutely fallow for six more years, during which the process of reboisement is continued with the rapidity natural to a country so refreshed with heavy rain as the Ghats are. The natural process is further assisted by protecting a certain number of trees in each block during cultivation, and re-sowing the whole after it has been cropped.

In order to assist Government in protecting the land during its period of fallow, advantage is taken of the clan feeling which exists in these highland villages, and the respect which is paid to the headmen. A Committee of Heads of families is formed in

each village, who pledge themselves to protect the fallow blocks from any clandestine attempt at cultivation. A fresh lease for the block which is to be cropped is taken every year from the Committee, and thus there is no possibility of a future generation overlooking the stringent conditions on which the concessions now granted are made.

It would excite surprise to recount the difficulties and objections which have been thrown in the path of a reform effected with so many precautions, and demanded alike by justice and necessity. The forest officers adopt the motto "*Vestigia nulla retrorsum*;" and contest every inch of the ground. Yet it is obvious that the small patches which, under the system described, are annually taken from forest reserve, are utterly insignificant compared with what is left. Only a fraction of the blocks is cut down at a time, and then it is allowed to recover itself for six or seven years. The eye of an observer wanders over hill and valley of dense growth, and cannot fail to notice the paucity of the blocks where, under shelter of the overhanging rock or on gentle slope, the bared and blackened hill side shows that the land is prepared for *kumri*. The effect on the rainfall, the rivers, and the springs of such partial denudation cannot really be appreciable. Nor is the loss of valuable timber worth discussion. One of the conservators of the Bombay Forests, whose experience is great, has not hesitated to describe the trees on a piece of *kumri* land as "not worth the expense of cutting, the whole being stunted and unfit for profitable use." The same authority writes about another *kumri* tract as follows:—"The natural formation is laterite and red gravel, with but little depth of soil, and unsuited for the growth of large timber ever likely to pay the cost of taking it out. The *Careya Arborea* and *Ticas* family appear to thrive best—both useless wood for building purposes—and there is a fair sprinkling of *Lagerstrœmia* and *Terminalia*, stunted and ill-shaped, wherever soil of sufficient depth to hold their roots has collected between the rocks. The slopes of the hills and sides of the deep ravines and water-courses are more or less covered with an inferior growth of bushes, trees and *karvi* (*Strobilanthes*)." Any fears then which might be entertained as to the effect which the concessions lately granted might exert upon the prospects of forest conservancy, may be dismissed as groundless. On the other hand the gratitude of the villagers to whom these concessions have been made, and the envy of those to whom they have been denied, prove that the policy of Government is really appreciated, and may be expected to attain the object which it is intended to have.

The measures taken to redress the grievances of the other classes require no detailed explanation. Forest reserves which

are not actually under process of re-forestment are to be thrown open to grazing. In some parts a reservation is made that not more than three-fifths of the total area shall be given out to the Dhangars. The intolerable restrictions which closed the water pools and springs against man and beast in the hottest and driest months of the years are to be modified. Something will also be done, it may be hoped, to allow the iron smelters to continue their harmless and useful trade. Lastly, the Government have discouraged the system of contracts for miscellaneous forest produce, and especially the collection of hirda nuts. Such a system interposed an obnoxious middleman between the collectors and the market which had an injurious effect on the profits of the former without in any way increasing the receipts of the Forest Department.

Such has been the history of what has been termed the persecution of the Ghat villagers. Driven from the plains by fresh tides of conquest, these hardy hillmen have battled against a malarious climate and the ravages of wild beasts. The hardships which they have undergone, and the many noble traits in their characters, entitle them to the generous sympathy of the British Government. Yet they have encountered in the foresters a worse enemy than ever their forefathers met on the plains of the Dekhan. The native constabulary of India, under the strict supervision of the Magistracy, checked at every step by law and regulation, and working in the full light of public opinion, are often looked upon with terror by the people. But the organised persecution of the Forest Department, with its ignorant army of beat guards and forest patrols, far removed from British supervision, inspires far more terror in the solitude of the highland villages than can easily be imagined by those who have never visited these remote valleys and mountains. The writer of this paper was lately trying a villager charged with the offence of cutting down a small tree. In defending himself the accused man exclaimed with vehemence :—" Is it likely that I should cut a branch when even a leaf is now more sacred in the eyes of Government than the happiness of its hill-subjects?" The interests of any department are the interest of the whole machinery of Government. The protection of the Ghats against denudation is a matter of vital interest to the State and to the population of India. But public opinion and common sense will endorse the policy laid down by Sir Philip Wodehouse, and now being vigorously prosecuted by Sir James Fergusson. That policy was thus described. :—" The demands of forest conservancy must be satisfied without entailing on a harmless and industrious population such sufferings as no civilized Government can tolerate."

W. LEE—WARNER.

## ART. X.—HINDUSTANI POETS AND POETRY.

**I**F speech is thought incorporated, the literature of a people is the incorporation of its mental and moral life. Its literature is a monumental embodiment of the evolution of its thoughts, of the development of its moral and intellectual life, and of the emotions that have thrilled its leading and representative minds. The record of the daily life of a mere cooly, exhibiting his thoughts and emotions from childhood to the end of his life, when he passes unnoticed from the vast congeries of that collective, progressive being called humanity, would be a wonderful study. The life of a great people, stereotyped for us and for coming ages in its earliest and latest literature, is a noble field for investigation and thought. No one can be a broad, intelligent, appreciative worker among a people possessing a literature, without being a student of that literature.

Not to delay with a discussion of what constitutes the Hindustani language, I take what may be conveniently called one dialect of it, and confine myself to Urdú Poetry, using the term Hindustani as synonymous with Urdú. The moral and emotional life especially is exhibited in poetry. The heart and the sentiments sing and we get poetry. The emotional or sentimental ebullition, as it ripples forth in rhythm and measure, embodying some thought, or feeling, or passion, is by a trope put for the voice of a muse or the tones of her lyra. And consistently enough, for we are here in the realm of imagination and rhetorical personification.

Poetry being the language of passion and imagination, it is a phenomenon to be expected that it be found early in the history of the individual or nation. Then the imagination is most lively, and the passions and the feelings are less under control. In the enchanted days of youth when the tender sentiments abound, prose is far too sober a dress for the rosy imaginings and the vivid glow of feeling. Hence the innocent delusion so frequently indulged in, that one has breathed the air of Parnassus and must be a poet. Confirmations from personal experience will suggest themselves. Poetry is a phenomenon of the early literary life of a nation also. Urdú literature is now in its earlier stages; the poetic period is here, and numerous among the books that are now somewhat rapidly making up a literature, are efforts in poetry. An interesting question might be raised here as to the availability of the Urdú language as a medium for the poetic inspirations of the muses. This availability consists in its power as a thought vehicle, and its development in tropes and figures—its quality of resonance and smoothness

and sweetness—its susceptibility of rhythm and metre. Some of these matters must come with the growth of a language, while some of them, as tropes and figures, may exist in great power in the early stages of a language, and are often found in its oldest literature. Nothing can exceed the vivid personifications and apostrophes of the Rig-Veda hymns, and of the early Hebrew poetry, for example, in the 148th Psalm: "Praise ye the Lord. Praise ye him, sun and moon; Praise ye him, all ye stars of light. Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons and all deeps, fire and hail, snow and vapour, stormy wind fulfilling his word; mountains and all hills, fruitful trees and all cedars \* \* \* let them praise the name of the Lord." What touches of beauty and power are found in Isaiah: "The mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands" (Chapter 55, 12). The Urdú, while still in an early stage of existence as a language, and while yet almost in the infancy of its literature, nevertheless has great fertility of resource for the expression of the creations of imagination, and impassioned thought, for, Minerva-like, it sprung fully equipped from the brain of such noble progenitors as the Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. These have contributed at once to its treasure of poetic power. Evidence and illustrations of this will accumulate as we proceed. The languages that brought together the elements that form the Urdú or camp language, brought also the elements in all their completeness to form the poetic structure and nomenclature of its metrical compositions. The Hindustání muse, as intimated, leaped forth with her lyre strung and tuned.

The prosody of the Urdú is the prosody of the Persian—is the prosody of the Arabic. And here we have but a repetition of the story of the "Queen's English"—so rapidly, with its linguistic virtues and vices, becoming the *lingua franca* of the world. English poetry is born of Latin and Greek poetry, as its structure and nomenclature so plainly betray.

The Urdú language is already spoken with more or less purity, compared with its best type, by nearly as many as speak the English tongue, and to the point we are after—let us note the nomenclature, outward form and style of its poetry. The words for poetry are *nazm* and *shiar*. The first of these is from an Arabic word meaning to arrange, or put in order. We have here a word expressing a power less original than is implied in the one from which our poet and poetry are derived. The Greek poet was a creator. As the earliest authors were poets—their metrical productions were received and admired as veritable creations. The word *nazm* (poetry) refers to the fact of something being put together in an orderly manner or measured arrangement,

The word *shiar* is also an Arabic word, from which we get another Arabic word *sháir* a poet, now in every-day use in Urdú. The word *shiar* in Arabic, and also the cognate Hebrew word *sháar* (שַׁעַר) mean to divide, discriminate, know. Hence the common Urdú word *shaûr*, wisdom, intelligence, from which the reason is apparent why in the early days of Arabic poetry, he, although unlettered, who could utter his thoughts in rhythmical and measured language, and often in song, was a *sháir*, or wise man. From the same root we get *musháira*, a word in common use, meaning a place where the poets or wise men of the city meet for exhibitions or contests in poesy. You will hardly find a city or town that does not keep up a *musháira*, or circle of poets, who meet for a kind of symposium in which they compare poems and often give out subjects for new efforts.

We already have, as before intimated, a prosody or science of poetry in Urdú. *Ilm-i-Urûz* is the word used to designate this science.

Maulvî Muhammad Ahsan, formerly teacher in the Bareilly College, is the Author of *Risálâe Urûz*, always to be had from the Government Press at Allahabad. The word *Urûz*, used for versification, is from the same root as *arz* a petition, or presentation; hence *Urûz* is a presentation, or digest, of the subject of poetics.

Let us now take a rapid glance at the elements that enter into this science. Thinking of poetry simply as an orderly or metrical string of words, which is true to the idea of *nazm*, as far as the mere words are concerned—the *rukn* or foot is the first thing to be noticed. It means a pillar—plural *arkân*, figuratively illustrated in the "*arkân-i-daulat*," or pillars of state, often used in describing the men who are supposed to stay the Government. "*Rukn*," then, refers to the words set up as posts in a measured march, as the *nazm*-maker moves along. From the *rukn* or rather plural *arkân*, poetic feet, the *bahr* is formed, with what propriety so called—it is difficult to say. *Bahr*, metre, has reference to the arrangement of feet in the verse or stanza. This word, also from the Arabic, means river or sea. The measured flow or music of the sea wave, or the pleasant ripple of a river, would suggest a name for the measured rolling feet of the early poets of Arabia. In Urdú, then, poetry *flows*; in English it *walks* on feet, or trips along, referring either to the measured tread with which the poem moves along, or the word foot is simply typical of measurement in the poetic line, which alas is often only measurement of words in a line, without the light, tripping air of delightful tropes in troops, or the stately steppings of the grand creations of the true *poetes*. In reference to the feet, or measured arrangement in lines,

we use the word *metre*, while the Hindustání has the word *wazn*, weight, as well as *bahr* for the same thing. Thus, the Hindustání will ask for the *wazn*, or weight, of a poem, very little of which, changing the sense, is found in many effusions. Of the 21 or more feet in use in Persian, some 11 have acquired a standard position in Urdú. This is about the same number as that recognized in English. As the Urdú feet come from the Persian and Arabic, and these correspond to the Latin and Greek, the poet of India and the poet of the West walk with the same feet, and tread in the same tracks. The measured tread of Pegasus and the dulcet accents of Parnassus, after some 2,500 years, are re-echoing to-day in lands and languages as widely separated as the Occident and Orient. Feet in Urdú have not different names as in English. There are no "iambus" and "trochee" and "dactyl" and "spondee," so named. Yet these exist and are represented, as in Persian, by the conjugation of a verbal root, in such a way as to indicate the length and quantity of the feet. The same word is repeated through the entire line, with the same or a different conjugational form, so as to represent the various lengths and quantity of the feet. It is almost impossible to represent this point in English, so different is the structure of the language from that of the Arabic, from which this method of noting the poetic feet is taken. Nor can it be done by the conjugation of any word in Urdú. A very feeble and limited illustration may be worked out on the stock word "love," of our English grammars, varying the pronunciation to suit our purpose. Take one of the most popular *bahrs* or measures, an octameter line, thus :—

Belóved, belóved, belóved, belov'd.

or another arrangement of feet in the same measure, thus :—

Belovéd, belov'd, belovéd, belov'd.

Here we have the amphibrach and iambus, as we should say in English; but a Hindustání poet would say we have feet of the measure "belovéd" and "belov'd." This is the heroic metre of the Hindustánís, in which they write of wars and the brave, although my illustration lies close to a much more tender sentiment.

Accent, so important in English Poetry, does not seem to be thought of in Urdú Poetry, and in this, as in almost every thing, it follows the prosody of the Arabic and Persian. It has been disputed whether or not we have accent proper in the Hindustání language. This whole subject seems to be covered by the question of vowel quantity, after the manner of the Greek and Latin. In English poetry often a fine rhythmic effect is brought out by the accent as in this stanza from Poe's "Raven :"—

" Once, upon a midnight dreary,  
While I pondered, weak and weary,



Over many a quaint and curious  
 Volume of forgotten lore—  
 While I nodded nearly napping,  
 Suddenly there came a tapping,  
 As of some one quaintly rapping,  
 Rapping at my chamber door.  
 'Tis some visitor, I muttered,  
 Tapping at my chamber door,  
 Only this and nothing more."

Here the accented syllables are nearly all short in quantity. In Hindustání poetry the feet are made up of long and short syllables, making *quantity* an important subject. Thus, in the technical lines, repeated in a variety of ways to indicate the various metres and varied quantity that may be used, we have the popular measure before referred to which runs thus:—

Faúlan, faúlan, faúlan, faúl.  
 or Fálan, faúlan, falan, faúlan.

It is this difference between accent, as we understand it, and quantity, as found in Hindustání poetry, that makes the translation of English hymns into something Hindustání, supposed to fit both the accent of the English hymn and the accent of the tune to which it is sung, so dangerous an undertaking. More real knowledge of the problem proposed would perhaps be prejudicial to the *size* of our Hindustání hymn books.

But to return, touching the subject of metre, the Hindustánís have adopted names from the Persian, to indicate length and nature of measure, just as we speak of long metre, and short metre, and Heroic measure, and Alexandrine measure, or pentameter, hexameter, &c. In Hindustání we have, for instance, *Bahr-i-Saríá*, rapid measure; *Bahr-i-Khafíf*, which we may call short metre; *Bahr-i-Kámil*, perfect measure; *Bahr-i-Mutaqárih*, meaning, perhaps, the most pleasing and popular metre. There are also words to indicate the number of feet in a line, or of lines in a stanza, as *Musáddas*, hexameter; *Musamman*, octameter.

Passing on, we may note something of the structure of the verse and stanza. A verse, in the strict sense of one line, is called in Urdú a *bait*, or house, from the Arabic and its sister the Hebrew—the echo of which we have in the first syllable of the names "Bethel," and "Bethlehem," and "Bethabara." But why is it called a house? This is less easily answered than the question why we call it a verse, from the Latin *versus* a row, which in turn is from *vertere* to turn round; that is, at the end of a regular row or line we turn round. All this is plain enough, but with all the research I have been able to make, the propriety of calling a line of poetry a house has never yet appear-

ed. To be sure, the hemistich, or half verse, is called *misra*, which literally means a door; but two doors are a long way from making a house. Besides, why is this called a door? What we call a couplet, or distich, is generally written as one line in Persian and Urdú. Perhaps it is thought that the two half lines fold on each other like the halves of a double door. From the door to the house is not far; hence perhaps the fruitful imagination of some primitive Arabic poet gave the name house to the entire verse.

As usually written, two lines of our poetry make one of the Hindustání. Sometimes four *misras*, or two *baitis*, equal to four lines of our poetry, will extend across the page. Often a narrow blank space is ruled between the *misras*, or hemistichs, intended to be a pleasing aid to the eye and mind of the reader.

The combining of lines into stanzas, wrought out in such a variety of ways according to the poet's taste in English, is a matter of importance in Urdú also. Many poems have no such divisions. The *Rubáí* is a poem in which the stanzas consist of four "*misrás*," or hemistichs, all having the same rhyme. The *mukhammas* is a stanza of five hemistichs, the *musaddas* of six. These have their rules for rhyme or metre, and in most books the page is lined in such a way as to indicate the *form* of stanza to the eye.

And here a word as to rhyme. Shakespear's plays are poetry, although the rhyme the critic was after, does not appear. All Urdú poetry on the contrary must have its rhyme. This is the generic test. The "*Qisas-ul-Ambiá*" has a prose arrangement, but in figure, and conception, and rhythm of sentence, it is fine poetry; yet it is not called poetry. The important place of rhyme in poetry must not be surrendered because many a perfect rhymist rhymes doggerel. Every tuneful nature responds to rhyme, and some of the sweetest and most musical poems in every tongue move forward to the dulcet rhythm of echoed and re-echoed sound. What can be more simple and charming in idyllic sweetness than the little poem to a star, familiar to so many children, which runs thus:—

"Twinkle, twinkle, little star,  
How I wonder what you are,  
Up above the world so high,  
Like a diamond in the sky.  
When the blazing sun is set,  
And the grass with dew is wet,  
Then you show your little light,  
Twinkle, twinkle, all the night."

Much of the charm of Poe's poems is in this matter of rhyme. The word for rhyme in Hindustání is *Qáfiya*; rhyme-making, *Qáfiya-bandí*. *Qáfiya* is from an Arabic word meaning to follow,



Sometimes he has one word rhyming at the beginning of the line, and another rhyming at the end of the same line, thus :—

“Saw the earliest flower of spring time,  
Saw the beauty of the spring time.”

Tennyson does the same thing in the “charge of the light Brigade.”

“Cannon to right of them,  
Cannon to left of them,  
Cannon in front of them,  
Volleyed and thundered.”

Another point is the various *kinds* of poetical composition in Urdú. We have in English the sonnet, and ode, and ballad, and idyl, and elegy, and epic, and so on, referring both to the matter and form of the poem. In the same way the Hindustani poets refer their creations to numerous heads, or species, which they have borrowed with the rest from the Persian. Thus we find *Rubáí* or *dobaití*, the *Gazal*, the *Qasída*, the *Masnawí*, and so on, involving the question both of the form and matter of the poem. The *dobaití*, or “two-versed,” is a short epigrammatic poem. The *Gazal* corresponds to our sonnet or ballad. The *Qasída* is used for panegyric, elegy, satire, &c. The *Masnawí* is the Heroic poem.

These all require a special form of versification. To illustrate the last-mentioned, the *Masnawí* has all its baits, or verses, composed in the same metre, and the second hemistich of each must rhyme with first. A poem in which the last line, or hemistich, of the first stanza is repeated at the close of each succeeding stanza, is called *tarijúband*. In English poetry, we have something of the same kind. Thus, they tell us that a sonnet should consist of only fourteen lines, so composed that the first eight lines should contain but two rhyming sounds, and the last six lines but two more.

It may be stated here that a collection of poems is called a *Díwán*, with a propriety not very manifest. A “*Díwán*” is a tribunal, and may refer to the building, or to the seat of judicature. We have an echo of the word in the *divan*, a kind of sofa, borrowed like most of our finery and means of ease-taking, from the luxurious Orient. From the literal seat of judicature, to the ruler, or judge, who sits on it,—to the court and building and associate grandees assembled, the transition is not difficult. Metaphorically, then, a *Díwán* is a grand book of grand poems, and any one familiar with the charming simplicity with which the oriental can indulge in self-laudation, will not be offended when the poet calls his collection a “*Díwán*.”

Another matter worthy of note is that each poet invariably has a poetical name, often descriptive of something in himself or his claim. Thus *Násikh*, the *nom-de plume* of a Lucknow poet, means that his splendor has eclipsed, or abrogated, that of all other

poets. Sádí, the sweetest of the Persian poets, was so called because he lived in the reign of Sád Bin Zangí, king of Persia. Our delightful Christian poet, Hasan Alí, has taken the name Saffr, which may mean a warbler.

We have thus gone briefly over the nomenclature and elements of Hindustání poetry. In something more than a century this growing language has passed into a considerable literature, a large part of which is poetry. But the poets—who are they? Their name is legion. They throng every town and city, and their effusions may be found at every native book-stall and abound in all the vernacular newspapers.

As I have stated, this is the poetic period of the Hindustání language. A Budaon poet writes that a brief account of only the noted Urdú poets, would make a book of more than 3,000 pages. This man has a symposium of poets at his house. I have been told that 200 poets have assembled at one time in the unpoetical city of Bareilly. It is said 500 poets can be turned up in Lucknow. A Maulvy told the writer that his own family boasted of 60 or 70 poets. Every school-boy writes poetry, and perhaps there are more books of poetry than of prose.

The early Moslem kings of India encouraged the cultivation of Persian literature. Some of the finest Persian Poets, as Amír Khusráu of Delhi, wrote and died in India. Since the greater than Moslem kings came, the cultivation of literature in the Hindustání has been effectively encouraged. A Maulvy recently remarked to the writer that no language and literature ever grew so rapidly. There have been two principal centres of native effort—Delhi and Lucknow, each claiming the purest and best type of Urdú. Here poets were always welcomed and favored by the royal courts, and many of them received marked distinction. As specimens I may just make the merest biographical mention of a few of the many that have striven for poetical honors. Dard, one of the oldest of the Urdú poets, wrote a hundred years ago at Delhi. His real name was Khwájá Mír. He was distinguished, as his name indicates, by the plaintive and pathetic character of his poems. Four of his collections bear the names of Nála-e-Dard, Ah-i Sard, Soz-i Dil, and Shamá-e-Mahfil, i.e., "The Lamentations of Dard," "The Cold Sigh" or "Deep Sigh" as we should say; "Heart Burnings" and the "Lamp of the Assembly."

Saudá was more noted than Dard and wrote somewhat later. He was born at Delhi, and his real name was Mirzá Raffá. As a poet, he flourished at Lucknow in the time of Nawáb Sa'adut Alí Khán and his son, Nawáb Asaf Ud-daula. He was distinguished for his satirical Qasida. He was the poet laureate of Asaf Ud-daula, and gained the title of "Malik-ush-shuará," or king of poets, rather prince of poets, we should say. Still later wrote Mushaff or

Shekh Gulám Hamadání, born at Amroha, in the Morádábád district, Rohilkund. He was attracted to Agra, and later to Lucknow, where he spent the rest of his life. He wrote voluminously, leaving six *Díwáns* or collections of his poetry and two lives of the poets. He died about 50 years ago.

Násikh, one of the best of the poets, was the son of a tent-maker. He was born at Faizábád, and his real name was Shekh Imám Bakhsh. He never had a teacher, and became what he was by the force of real genius. Attracted to Lucknow, he was soon surrounded by a circle of poets. Gází-Uddín Haider, then reigning, said to his Prime Minister that he would give Násikh the title of Malik-ush-shuará, if he would come to his court. In other words, he offered him the position of poet laureate, Násikh replied that if Mirzá Sulaimán Shikoh, prince of Delhi, or the Governor-General of India, would give him a title, he would accept it. What less could be expected from Lucknow than that the king would drive him from his domain. Násikh was the author of several books, and when he died, a fellow poet wrote this line, which indicates the date of his death :—

"Dilá ! Shergof uthí Lukhnaú se,"

Oh my soul ! Poesy has fled from Lucknow.

Asad Ullá Khán, one of the Delhi poets, took the pretentious *nom de plume* of Gálib, or the conqueror. He was the teacher of Abú Zafur, late king of Delhi, himself a poet of some distinction. Gálib wrote largely in Persian also. He left several books of Urdu poetry, written often in an obscure style. He died in 1866.

Returning to Lucknow, I may mention one poet more, Dabír, whose real name was Mirzá Salámat Alí. He was at one time a paper-dealer. He was famous in *Marsia*, or elegy. He gained the title of Tutí-e-Hind, or parrot of India. It is said, Maulvies came long distances to hear his elegies at the close of the Muharram. He died only a year or two ago. But it would not do to close these biographical hints without at least indicating that we have Hindustaní poetesses, as well as poets, although none of them have risen to much distinction, which may be laid rather to the social system, than to want of genius. I have seen a list of 39 names of native women who have written graceful poetry.

Alím, wife of the Oude king, Wájid Alí Sháh, has written some delightful lines. She has the pretty name of Akhtar, or star, and still lives, I believe, at Garden Reach. It is said that she is a charming player on the *sítár*, or Indian guitar, a favorite instrument here, as well as with the poets of the West. I find this delightful couplet among Alím's lines :—

"Ai bágban chaman men yih kahde pukrke,  
Lo bulbulo ! chalo kí din áe bahár ke,"

which pretty expression might be put in English thus :—

Oh ! gardener, go, sing out among the flowers,

Ho ! nightingales, come all, for the spring days again are ours.

Another poetess, Munní, a Káshmirí by race, takes the celestial *nom de plume* of Zuhra, Venus. She was born and brought up in Calcutta. Her verses are written in Urdú. I find this poetic description of her :—

“ Gulrú-o-gulbadan-o-gulandám hai,  
Khushrú-o-khush-gulú-o-khush-kharám hai,”

which, in poetic euphony, is quite beyond the power of translation, and can be only feebly paraphrased by saying that it means that Zuhra has a countenance and figure, charming as a rose, aye, a pleasing face and pleasing voice with a graceful gait.

I must not venture on invidious distinctions by saying more of living poets. At any rate, on correct historic principles, they are too near to get their true perspective ; so let us content ourselves with glancing at what these songsters have been singing about. The student of Hindustání poetry finds a literature curious and varied, if not very extensive. We have something of comedy and tragedy ; we have epics and didactics ; parodies and travesties. We have gnomic poets and lyric poets, satirists, and dramatists. Much of all this is yet in its infancy. One most prolific subject with our poets here, as in every age and clime, is *love*. Many seem to have a lyre of but one string, and they harp and harp and harp, till the thing becomes ludicrous to Hindustánis themselves. Safdar Alf, in the introduction to his “ Songs of the Nightingales,” says, “ Alas, the poets have written too little of what contributes to true culture. They have not cared for either good matter or style. The poets have too much preferred the subject of love (*ishq*), and have spent their whole lives in love-sighing and lamentation, “ *balki bahuton ne sári umr yihí roná royá.*” The author of a new Hindustání story, called “ Jauhar-i-Aql,” protests against the perpetual obtrusion of this subject, and he avows that he will write a story bound to attract without it. I cannot declare how successful this bold innovation has proved, with the reading public, but the story is not a bad one. *Apropos* of all this, Jawáhar Sing also, who seems to be a kind of poet laureate to the Rajá of Bahrámpur, in bringing out his “ *Diwání-Panjam*,” in his introduction forestalls the satiated reader by intimating that he writes a “ *nayá mazmún jis men áshiqána bayán nahín hai.*” He will write of God’s praise and good “ *nasihat*,” which too might be inferred from the title of his book, “ *Tahzíb-i-Akhláq*,” or Moral Science. A rapid glance at the names of some of the books of poetry will rescue in a measure the reputation of the poets, and

indicate what they can write about. We find at the Curator's, Allahabad, "Gulshan-i-Sarwarí," or the "Flower-garden of Sarwarí." The book with this euphonic title consists of moral essays. Nádír Sháh, the editor of a Panjáb paper, gives us "Amín-i-Hikmat," also on morals. Jawáhar Sing, the Balrámpur poet, gives us another book called "Mufarrih-i-Dilkushá," which he says is "*hawá khorí ke bayán men.*" Besides this he has written, "Jauhar-i-Aflák," or Jewels of the firmament, a book on Astronomy and Astrology, also "Jauhar-i-Idrák," science of physiognomy. Altáf Husen of Paniput, at the instance of the indefatigable Sayad Ahmad Khán, has written a rather long poem on the "Rise and Fall of Islám." It is called "Madd-o-Jazr-i-Islám," and is in six line stanzas, easy flowing style. I must indulge the reader with a specimen, to show what the author thinks of our side of the world as compared with his own. He says of the West:—

"Kisí waqt jí bhar ke sote nahín wuh,  
Kabhi ger miluat se hote nahín wuh,  
Bizáat ko apní dubáte nahín wuh,  
Koi lamha bekár kháte nahín wuh,  
Na chalne se thakte na uktáte hain wuh,  
Bahut barh gae aur barhe játe hain wuh.

Magar ham kí abtak jahán the wahín hain  
Jimádát kí tarah bár-i-zamín hain,  
Hain dunyá men aise, kí goyá nahín hain.  
Zamáne se kuchh aise fáriq-nashín hain. •  
Kí goyá zurúrí thá jo kám karná,  
Wuh sab karchuke, ek baqí hai marná."

Books of the older poets are generally miscellaneous collections on a great variety of subjects. Nature, so fruitful a theme for poets of the West, has not much inspiration for the Indian bards. You will find no Briant, or Whittier, or Thomson, in India. There is not much written on purling streams and wavy fields and singing birds, although, to be sure, the merits and general availability of the bulbul, or nightingale, are inexhaustible with the Hindustaní poets. Something we have, for we have seen a fine horse trotted out, and a Lucknow poet gives us lines on that most unpromising, unpoetical and unwieldy of all subjects, an elephant, unless it be that of a bolder genius who has taken the hardly more hopeful, although certainly more sprightly subject of *fleas*. The lines of this last, with a doleful refrain, run thus:—

"Barsát ká hai khauf na'barish ká hamko dar,  
Albatta bijli hamko daráti hai kaundkar,  
Iskí bhi gam nahín hai jo hojáwe yán basar,  
Lekin kharábt yih hai kí á áke rát bhar,  
Pissú hamen satáte hain Sahib pahár par "



The writer unfortunately has not laid the civilized world under obligation, by propounding a remedy for the evil his poetic genius walls at. But perhaps we are hardly just to our poets, for they have given us some fine touches on nature. Safdar Ali, the Christian poet—a significant fact—in his “Bulbulon ke Najme” (the inevitable bulbul) gives such titles as “Basant,” spring; “khazán,” Fall; also “Rain and Clouds”; “Gul-o-Bulbul,” Flowers and the Nightingale, a Tafjla-band, every line of which ends in “bulbul!” There is a pretty pastoral by one Sajjád Husen in a Bareilly Urdú paper, called “Hidáyat-ul-Fitrat” or Nature as a Guide. A wise hermit is introduced who, when interrogated, says, he learned not from Socrates and Pluto, but from bees, ants, fowls, &c. This poem, apparently a translation, however, has some delightful passages in it. Taken this on the garden where the hermit was found :—

“Dekhá usne bág hai ek pur fízá,  
Pur bahár-o-mewadár-o-ján fízá,  
Bág hai máuind Bustán-i-Iram,  
Sair se jiske parrán he jiske hamm o-gam,  
Já bajá nahren hain jári bá rafá,  
Thandi thandi dilkushá átí hawá,  
Dilko farhat bakhshe aur ánkhon ko núr,  
Ján ko ráhat, tabíat ko surúr,  
Lek, yih ráhí húa súe makán,  
Thá gul-i-ummíd ke chunne se dhyán.”

The poem closes with the reply of the hermit, thus :—

“Hán magar yih hamm jo rakhtá hún main,  
Roz-o-shab jiske maze chakhtá hún main,  
Sirf Nechar ne batáyá hai mujhe,  
Merí fitrat ne batáyá hai mujhe.”

Much of Urdú poetry is translation from the Persian and even from English. Nor is there disparagement of the genius of Indian poets in this, for Longfellow, most loved abroad of American poets, translated from German, Danish, French, Italian and Spanish. And are not “Pope’s Homer” and “Dryden’s Virgil” household words?

We have in Urdú, Jawáhar-i-Manzúm or “Poetical Pearls,” being translations of readings in English Poetry. We find also a poetical translation of the Gulistán called “Nigár-i-Rozí.” There is a translation of Parnell’s Hermit, which obtained a prize of Rs. 100. This translation runs thus :—

“Dúr chashm-i-khalq se Haqq se qarín,  
Thá kíá sahrá men ek ábid makín,  
Hásil usko jab se thá sinn-i-shuúr,  
Ahl-i-dunyá se rahá kartá thá dúr.  
Ibtidá se thá ibádat uská kám,  
Cháhtá thá zist ho yún hí tamám.  
Yún kíyá kartá thá wuh apní guzar,  
Thá bichhauná káh aur koh ghar.”

The samar sahrá ke sirf uski gízá  
Wáste páni ke chashma koh ká  
Isí tarah wuh khalq se rahkar judá  
Káttá aúqát apní bá Khudá."

While in epic poetry the Urdú has no Homer or Virgil, yet an Indian Pope and a Dryden have given us the Persian Sháhnáma of Firdausí, the heavenly, and the Ramáyan, in Urdú verse. Drama has not been entirely neglected. Sayad Agá Hasan, poetically known as Amánat, who died in Lucknow forty years ago, wrote a play widely known as "Indar Sabhá." In this play celestials and terrestrials mingle freely in a love plot. The poetry is not bad as to style, but is maudlin to the last degree. There is another drama, also called Indar Sabhá, by one Madárí Lál, which I have not seen. I imagine it may be said of it also, "yihí roná royá." But I have hardly left myself space to notice the interesting and important subject of sacred lyric poetry. We have now numerous hymns and gazals, translated and original. I have referred to the difficult task of translating hymns. Yet some of the Urdú translations of hymns, while conforming to but little of the prosody of the language, in spite of prosody, have the ring of genuine poetry about them. They will live, like everything of real merit, and constitute-if need be a new school of poetry. Is there not genuine rhythm and sweetness in these stanzas :—

"Wuh mominon ká Jauhar hai,  
Aur Motí bebahá ;  
Kalisiyá ká wuh Shauhar hai,  
Aur Munjí dunyá ká.  
Bág merá us se táza hai ;  
Wuh ha Hayát ká Ab :  
Bihisht ká wuh darwáza hai,  
Aur Rástí ká A'táb."

Again, there is real merit in stanzas like these :—

"Ekhi pyará hai hamárá  
Dost haqíqí, Yár azíz ;  
Us kí nisbat sárfí ulfat,  
Is jahán kí, hai náchíz.  
Us kí ulfat aur muhabbat  
Mere dil par gálib hai ;  
Apne Yár kí mihr o p'yár kí  
Merí ján nit tálib hai."

Nothing can exceed the touching melody of lines like the following in Hindee :—

"Lákhon men ek merá Priyá,  
Ek hí merá Priyá hai ;  
Us ne mere mau ko liyá,  
Prem ke bal se liyá hai."

Priye Prabhú ! man jo liyá,  
 Bas, to sab kuchh terá hai ;  
 Apná sab kuchh tujhe diyá,  
 Ab tú Prítam merá hai."

Foremost among our original hymnists is Shujaat Ali, who perhaps is so completely *facile princeps*, that we may mention him with special emphasis among many. Others, as Hasan Ali, have written well. We have in a collection of hymns a noble gazl of his composition which runs thus:—

" Mere dil men yád usí kí hai, mere  
 lab pa us ká hí nám hai :  
 Jo rāfiq ó múnis-i-ásiyán, jo Shafí e  
 roz e qiyám hai  
 Main kalima gair ká kyún parhún,  
 bhalá zāya waqt ko kyún karún,  
 Mere lab pa kalima usí ká hai, jo  
 azal se Haqq ká Kalám hai."

Other Christian poets in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, are singing sweet songs that will live in the future and touch the hearts of thousands.

T. J. SCOTT.

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## THE QUARTER.

**T**HOUGH far from uneventful, the period since our last quarterly retrospect has been unmarked by events of first rate political importance. Kandahar, it is true, has been evacuated by our troops during the interval ; but the question of its abandonment once definitively settled, the movement itself becomes a matter of minor interest. Muhammad Hášim Khan, the governor appointed by the Amir, arrived in the city on the 16th April. Our troops commenced their homeward march on the 15th ; the rear guard left the city on the 21st, and the Amir's territory was completely evacuated by the 27th.

In the meantime Chaman and the Pishin Valley continue to be occupied by our troops, and, as full discretion has been given the Indian Government to prolong the occupation as long as necessary, it is certain they will not be given up till after the close of the rainy season, at the earliest. Indeed, the promptitude with which the Home Government lately contradicted a rumour that they had ordered the movement to be carried out at once, combined with the fact that the Government of India is strongly opposed to further retrocession, affords some ground for hope that the Pishin Valley at least, may after all be permanently retained. The fact is that, as long as Ayub's power at Herat remains unbroken, and his attitude one of hostility to the new Amir, the position of the latter at Kandahar is to the last degree precarious ; and, though we should probably abstain from interference in the struggle, whichever way victory might tend, it is unlikely that even the present Administration would abandon the Pishin Valley with Ayub in possession of that city. To do so under such conditions would be to expose our outpost at Quetta to unnecessary danger, and possibly to invite yet more serious complications.

Regarding Ayub's plans or movements little definite seems to be known. In the early part of the quarter it was rumoured that he was reduced to great straits by a successful rebellion on the part of Hášim Khan ; but this report appears to have been without foundation, and the latest account is that he is organising, if he has not already initiated, an advance in force against Kandahar.

In the meantime an action has taken place at Girishk between the Amir's troops and a body of Ayub's partisans under Azim Shah, in which the latter were worsted, after a fight of some duration and obstinacy.

The force assembled to operate against the Wazírís was ultimately increased to about ten thousand of all arms, which entered

the Valley in two divisions by different routes, under Generals Kennedy and Gordon respectively.

General Kennedy's force marching by the Zam Valley route, reached Kanigoram on the 5th May. During the march, the whole of the tribes, except the Nana Khey, submitted, and five out of six of the ringleaders in the Tank affair surrendered themselves. Mushak, the remaining ringleader, still remains at large. General Gordon's force advanced by the Khysara Valley route, ultimately joining General Kennedy at Razmak on the 10th May. Very little opposition was encountered anywhere, and our losses were trifling. On the other hand, beyond the blowing up of a few towers and some destruction of crops, little harm seems to have been done to the enemy, and it is said to be doubtful whether the fine imposed upon them will be realised. Some valuable survey work was, however, carried out by parties with the force. General Kennedy's division returned to Tank on the 18th May, while General Gordon's recrossed the border on the 20th. A blockade is reported to have been determined on against the Durkhanis, a small tribe in the neighbourhood of Dera Ghazi Khan, on account of an unprovoked attack made by them on a friendly tribe.

The Court Martial on Colonel Malcolmson commenced its proceedings on the 9th April.

The charges were :—

*First Charge.*—Misbehaviour before the enemy in such manner as to show cowardice, on the 27th and 28th of July, 1880, during the retreat from field of battle at Maiwand, in Afghanistan, in the following instances :—

*First.*—In having at the commencement of the retreat near Khusk-i-Nakhud, while Brigadier-General Nuttall was with the rear guard employed in placing wounded and tired men on horses and camels, proposed to retire at once, assigning as a reason that he saw a strong body of cavalry moving towards them, which was not the fact.

*Second.*—In having at a later period of the retreat, when commanding his regiment, among which were the Guides, upon whom the retreating force depended for the direction of the night march, marched away to Ata Karez and for the time abandoned the wounded and tired men ; so that he, with his regiment, reached Ata Karez some two hours before the rear guard, although he had been ordered by Brigadier-General Nuttall to march slowly, being told that an orderly and slow retirement was requisite to hold the enemy in check, as well as to conform with the slow progress of the wounded and tired men of the force.

*Third.*—In having at a period of the retreat later than the

foregoing, namely, at Howzi Madat, openly expressed to Brigadier-General Burrows his desire to abandon the guns, which were laden with wounded officers and men, and to push on to Kandahar, giving as one reason that the artillery of the enemy were pursuing, and that the whole of the force yet surviving would be destroyed : and as another, that three companies of Native Infantry in advance at Ashu Khan required aid.

Fourth.—In having after leaving Howzi Madat, outmarched the rest of the retreating force and placed a distance of some three miles between himself and the guns laden with wounded officers and men, although he had been ordered by Brigadier-General Burrows not to lose the touch of the guns.

*Second Charge.*—Having by word of mouth spread reports calculated to create unnecessary alarm on the 27th and 28th of July, 1880, during the retreat from the field of battle at Maiwand, in the following instances :—

First.—In having at different intervals of the night, magnified the report of jezails and matchlocks discharged from villages that were passed, into the sound of the artillery of the enemy in pursuit ; and represented that clumps of trees passed were cavalry of the enemy threatening the flanks.

Second.—In having, towards dawn, near the village of Ashu Khan, raised the alarm that the cavalry of the enemy were upon them, saying “ Here they come at a gallop ;” the fact being that the cavalry seen was the rear guard of the retreating force, consisting of a weak troop.

*Third Charge.*—Having used words calculated to create despondency on the 28th of July, 1880, during the retreat from the field of battle at Maiwand, in the following instance :—

First.—In having on an occasion when rebuked by Brigadier-General Burrows and by him asked if he wanted a stampede into Kandahar, openly replied : “ It will end in that yet.”

Second.—In having at Ashu Khan openly remarked that he thought any further delay on the part of the cavalry unnecessary, and that not one of the force would reach Kandahar alive.

The prisoner pleaded not guilty. Generals Burrows and Nuttall, Lieutenant-Colonel Leach and others were examined for the prosecution, the evidence elicited in cross-examination being less damaging to Colonel Malcolmson than to some of his superiors. On the 18th, after examining only one or two of the witnesses for the defence, the Court suddenly arrested the proceedings and honorably acquitted the prisoner.

The territories of our feudatory, the Maharana of Udaipur, have been the scene of a rising of the Bhils which at one time threatened to attain serious dimensions, and which actually result-

ed in considerable loss of life among both the Maharana's people and the insurgents. The discontent which prepared the way for this outbreak seems to have been mainly connected with increase of taxation, accompanied probably with oppressive conduct on the part of the Udaipur officials. A perusal of the terms extorted by the Bhils will, however, give a clearer idea of their grievances than any mere theory of the origin of the disturbance. The actual occasion of the rising is said to have been a summons sent by the Thannadar of Bara Pal to one of the Bhil headmen, in connexion with the census operations. The headman seems to have been contumacious, and the sawar sent by the Thannadar, attempting to arrest him, was cut down. Immediately afterwards the Bhils of the neighbourhood assembled in force, and, marching on the Bara Pal Thannah, murdered all the officials there and committed other atrocities. What followed is thus described in an article in the *Englishman* of the 2nd May :—

The Udaipur Government at once sent out a force to the scene of the outbreak, at the same time directing that affairs should be settled, if possible, by peaceable negotiation. The Bhils were apparently ready to negotiate, provided the troops should not advance beyond Bara Pal : they however did so, and a sipáhi shot a Bhil who was on the way to join the disaffected in the hills and had shot an arrow at the force. This led to a continuance of the disturbance, and a running fight was maintained between the Raj troops and the Bhils, during which 20 to 30 Bhils were killed and about the same number wounded, until the force reached the sacred town and shrine of Rakabnáth, where it shut itself up, closely besieged by the Bhils. Attempts at negotiation were made, but unsuccessfully ; and on the 10th April the agent to the Governor-General in Rájputaná arrived at Udaipur to enquire into the matter. On the 15th Colonel Blair, superintendent of the Maiwar Hill tracts, and Lieutenant Wingate, the settlement officer of Maiwar, went out to attempt an understanding. They succeeded in reassuring the Bhils, who agreed to meet Colonel Blair at a conference at Rakabnáth on the 18th. The headmen, however, remarked that, if the conference turned out unsatisfactorily, there would be a fight. The conference was duly held, and the Bhils were induced to make submission to the Maharáná's delegate. Unfortunately, some sipáhis had been brought to the conference, and, when the proceedings had nearly ended, an officer happened to wave his hand to some Panniahs not to crowd on the assemblage. This created some confusion, and at this moment a gun accidentally went off. A panic seized the Bhils, who at once fled from the scene in excitement, the

sipáhs firing upon them. The disturbance then broke out afresh on an extensive scale. Colonel Blair feared that Kherwarra, 15 miles off, might be attacked, and telegraphed for troops. At the same time he did his utmost to compose the minds of the Bhils, and was so far successful that on the 21st negotiations were renewed and concluded satisfactorily on the 23rd.

The following has been published as a translation of the treaty finally entered into between the Mahārānā and the disaffected tribe :—

(1.) That the Bhils shall not be put to any trouble on account of the census.

(2.) That no Bhil woman shall be weighed.

(3.) That no Mahomedan shall either lease or enter the village containing the shrine Rikhabnath.

(4.) That in accordance with the request of the Bhils, their offence of "the massacre at Bara Pal" is pardoned, but no such mercy will be shown in the future, and any Bhil who shall be guilty of such offence will be severely punished.

(5.) That their lands shall not be measured.

(6.) That a remission of half of the Tisala is granted for the future.

(7.) That all Bhils condemned during the last three years, i.e., since the Samvat year 1935, and now undergoing their term of imprisonment in the Oodaipore jail, shall be released on payment of a proper ransom.

(8.) That no Raj officer shall receive either forage or fuel from the Bhils without paying a proper price for the same.

(9.) That no Thanuas but those existing at present shall be established in the Hilly Tracts.

(10.) That no monopoly shall be granted over salt and opium in the Hilly Tracts.

(11.) That no monopoly shall be granted to any one over grass, fuel, timber, or other natural product of the hills. But that the Bhils of the various *pals* shall continue in the future to enjoy the products of the respective hills as they have done in the past.

(12.) That they shall continue to levy *bolai* on pilgrims, travellers, and merchandise as they had been doing before.

(13.) That *mahrora* (from which the Bhils manufacture their liquor) brought for their own use shall be exempt from duty.

(14.) That the sowars posted at *chowkies* shall be withdrawn.

The meeting of the Silver Conference, now sitting in Paris, would be an event pregnant with the most important consequences for India, if its failure were not a foregone conclusion. The object of its promoters is to raise silver to a certain value in relation to gold, and to maintain it at that value by means of an engagement



among the Governments represented, or some of them, to coin it freely, and declare it a legal tender concurrently with gold at that ratio. As it was known all along that England and Germany would certainly adhere to their present currency arrangements, a unanimous undertaking of this kind was from the first out-of-the-question. India is represented at the Conference by Sir Louis Malet and Lord Reay; England, who for some time showed great hesitation to take any part in the proceedings, by Mr. Fremantle. After formal preliminaries a Committee was appointed to which the following questions were submitted for determination and report:—

“1.—Have the diminution and great oscillations in the value of silver which have occurred, especially of late years, been injurious to commerce, and consequently to the general prosperity? Is it desirable for the ratio of value between the two metals to have a great fixity? 2.—Are the phenomena indicated in the first part of the foregoing question to be attributed to the increase in the production of silver, or to legislative measures? 3.—Is it probable or not that if a large group of States accords the free and unlimited coinage of legal pieces of both metals, having full paying power in a uniform proportion for the gold and silver contained in the monetary unit of each metal, a stability, if not absolute, at least very substantial, will be obtained in the relative value of those metals? 4.—In case of an affirmative reply to the preceding question, what measures should be taken for reducing to a minimum the oscillations in the ratio of value between the two metals? For instance, would it be desirable to impose on chartered banks of issue the obligation of always accepting at a fixed price the ingots of gold and silver offered them by the public? Could the public be insured the same privilege in countries where there is no chartered bank of issue? Should mintage be gratuitous, or at least uniform, in all countries for the two metals? Should there be an understanding to leave free from all obstruction the international commerce in the precious metals? 5.—In adopting bi-metallism, what should be the ratio between the weight of pure gold and silver contained in the monetary units?”

There is, of course, no room for doubt that a unanimous agreement between all the great commercial countries for a term of a certain length and general confidence in the stability of that agreement being postulated, a fixed ratio of value between gold and silver would, *ipso facto*, be established and maintained. The effect of such an arrangement would be a redistribution of the existing purchasing power of the two metals in which holders and producers of silver would gain at the expense of holders and producers of gold. The total quantity of gold and silver would purchase no

more commodities than before, but the total quantity of gold would purchase less, and the total quantity of silver more, than before. In other words the effect of the agreement would be that of a bounty upon owners of silver paid at the cost of owners of gold. To objections based on the obvious injustice of such a result, it is urged that a similar redistribution of purchasing power, as between the holders of the two metals, is perpetually occurring in the ordinary course of trade, and that notably during the last few years such a redistribution has taken place at the cost of holders of silver and in favour of holders of gold. To this argument there are several answers, one being that the fact of injustice occurring naturally is no defence for inflicting similar injustice by legislation, and another that under the existing system the fullest scope is left for the re-adjustment of inequalities through the operation of economic laws, and consequently any injury resulting from such redistributions of purchasing power between the two metals is temporary only, while under such an arrangement as that proposed the injury would be permanent.

All discussion of the probable consequences of an arrangement of this kind is, however, rendered superfluous by the certainty that it is unattainable.

If the individual losses and gains that would be caused by the proposed redistribution of purchasing power were evenly distributed among all countries, there might be some chance of a universal agreement being arrived at, though, even in that case, the only ground on which it could be reasonably arrived at would be, that the general benefit would be out of all proportion to the individual wrong arising from it, and probably this assumption would be an erroneous one. It happens, however, that far from the individual losses and gains that would result, being evenly distributed among the different countries concerned, they are so unevenly distributed that, practically, it would be a case of national losses and national gains. As, then, no Government can be expected willingly to inflict heavy loss on its own subjects for the sake of benefiting those of another Government, the expectation of a common understanding was from the first Quixotic.

But, without a common understanding, a system of bi-metallism on such a basis as that proposed could be maintained only at most serious loss to the countries adopting it, who would either find themselves drained of their gold, or, if they attempted to counteract this drain by artificial restrictions on trade, such as are hinted at in the programme quoted above, would find their commerce heavily handicapped.

At one of the sittings of the conference, Sir Louis Malet, on behalf of the Government of India, undertook to guarantee the

continued free mintage of silver for a fixed term of years on the condition that a certain number of other countries would engage to allow its free mintage at a ratio of 15½ to 1 for a similar period. Had the question of stopping the free coinage of silver in India been within the sphere of practical politics, this offer would have possessed some value. As, however, that question had been definitively disposed of by the Government some time before the meeting of the conference, the inducement held out by it is very small ; only so much indeed as may arise from a consideration of the fact that, while the decision of one administration in a matter that concerns its own subjects is not binding on its successors, an engagement with third parties would be.

The German delegate also offered, on the part of his Government, to guarantee to the Powers who might enter into a bi-metallic union, that Germany would engage 'to abstain from all sales of silver during a certain period, and during a further certain period to sell only a fixed annual quantity, so small as not to encumber the market ; the duration of the periods and the quantity of silver to be sold, to be settled by subsequent negotiation.

The conference at present stands adjourned to the 30th instant, when it will probably meet either to be broken up finally, *re infecta*, or to agree to some purely palliative measures of such slight moment as to exercise no appreciable effect on the natural course of events.

On the 25th March the young Maharajah of Maisur was installed as ruler of the Maisur territory, and formally presented by the Governor in grand Durbar, with an instrument of transfer of which the following are the principal heads :—

1. The British Government confers the country on the Maharajah and his heirs for ever.
2. Embodying the usual conditions against building or repairing forts.
3. Prohibiting the manufacture or importation of arms.
4. Prohibiting the increase of the military force beyond a certain maximum.
5. Prohibiting the introduction of a separate coinage.
6. Prohibiting the employment of Europeans without previous sanction.
7. Providing for the establishment of British Cantonments in Maisur.
8. Providing for the construction and working of railway and telegraph lines.
9. Regulating the manufacture and sale of salt and opium.
10. Providing for the continuance of the existing laws of revenue settlement and system of administration.

11. Conferring on the Maharajah the sovereignty of Seringapatam with its revenue, on condition of his adding Rs. 50,000 to the annual subsidy.

12. Renouncing the Maharajah's jurisdiction over the Cantonment of Bangalore, and over European British subjects.

13. Providing for an increase of ten lakhs to the annual subsidy, after a period of five years.

On the 24th ultimo, the new Governor of Madras died at Utakamund, after a short and severe illness, from a disease of long standing. During his brief tenure of office, Mr. Adam had achieved considerable personal popularity, and given promise of more than average administrative capacity.

The 14th June 1881.

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POSTSCRIPT.

ON Monday, the 27th instant, the Government of India issued a Notification inviting tenders for a loan of three crores of rupees, at 4 per cent., to form part of the loan of May 1856. With one exception the conditions laid down were those which have usually obtained, of late years, on similar occasions. By clause 16 of the Notification the Government reserved to itself the right to allot the whole or any portion of the loan to Native Chiefs willing to accept the same at the average rate tendered for by the public. Strong objections having, however, been made to this condition on the ground that it was unfair to *bond fide* tenderers and would probably lower the average price of the loan, the clause has since been cancelled.

It is reported that the Governorship of Madras, having been offered to and refused by Mr. Duff Grant, is to be conferred on Sir Ashley Eden; but nothing certain is yet known on the subject. From an announcement made by Lord Hartington in the House of Commons, it seems probable that early steps will be taken to assimilate the appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal.

A second engagement took place on the 11th instant between a force of the Amir's from Girishk and a body of Herati levies, under Sirdars Muhammad Hasan Khan and Abdulla Khan, resulting in the total defeat of the latter, with heavy loss.

The 29th June 1881.

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## CRITICAL NOTICES.

### GENERAL LITERATURE.

*The History of India: Mohamadan Period.* By J. Talboys Wheeler. London, Trübner & Co.

**T**HE History of Musalman India remains to be written. Mr. Mounstuart Elphinstone's work, probably as perfect as the then state of the accessible materials allowed, has become somewhat out of date. Not only have sources of information been thrown open to us which Elphinstone knew not, but the whole spirit of historical study has changed during the forty years or so that have elapsed since his book was published. Both teachers and learners now require a treatment which recognises the solidarity of the past and the present; and even that indolent creature, "the general reader," has imbibed philosophical fads, and will not be contented with the wholesome chronicling that satisfied his forerunners, but seems too plain for his fastidious taste.

Several fragmentary attempts have been made from time to time, to include portions of this subject in the domain of scientific history. But the only complete work of the kind that has yet appeared is that of which the title stands at the head of this notice. And the most indulgent criticism must sorrowfully admit that it is not successful in its existing form, even though containing indications that the author might, by the exercise of more care and caution, do much towards attaining the ideal.

The chief reason of the unsatisfactory character of Mr. Wheeler's present work is his habit of trusting almost exclusively to European sources of information and to speculations of his own which, though bold and sometimes ingenious, will not stand the test of fact.

In the preface to the first part, published in 1876, Mr. Wheeler laid down an extraordinary principle. Hitherto it had been thought that Musalman rule in India might be considered as paramount, from the end of the twelfth century after Christ to about the middle of the century preceding our own; and this period has been usually regarded as divisible into two portions, the Pathan and the Mughal. This, however, is too simple for

our author, who proposes four divisions, and holds that it is a mistake to consider that the Mughal Empire was Musalman !

The reason for this remarkable paradox appears to be conveyed in the following words :—" It will be seen, that there is reason to believe that the Vedic Aryans were Mughals ; that Asoka and Akbar sprang from the same stock as the worshippers of the Vedic gods." This would seem to imply that Asoka is supposed to have been a Mughal : but, not to dwell on this, and throwing in the concession ( quite unfounded and only made here under protest ) that Akbar's peculiar tendencies entitle us to regard him as a non-Musalman, was Babar a " Vedic Aryan " ? And, further, was the Empire of his successors not ruled, on the whole, by Moslem law and principles ? Was the *pardah* maintained, with plurality of wives ? Did the State build and endow mosques, was the public law of the land founded on the Koran and Traditions ? And, if so, was not the Government that did all these things entitled to be called " a Musalman Empire " ?

These things have not altogether escaped Mr. Wheeler's notice during the period that has passed between the appearance of the two parts of his book. In the volume lately issued he returns to the strange matter that he omitted so long ago, but it has not lost its attraction for him :—

" In part I. of the present volume," he now observes, " the author expressed the opinion that the Vedic Aryans might possibly prove to have been Mughals ; and as this hypothesis has met with some opposition, he would take this opportunity of furnishing additional grounds for arriving at such a conclusion."

We have seen above that, even could it be established that the founders of the Mughal Empire of India had some share of the blood of those who many centuries earlier founded the Empire of the Hindus, the dynasty and its system would still be Musalman. But we are bound to go further and deny that the common origin is proved. The " additional grounds " of Part II. are no more valid than those originally stated in Part I. being confined to notices from a mediæval monk showing that the Tartars of his time used ceremonies in honour of the elements. It need hardly be observed that a coincidence of this kind cannot outweigh the evidence of difference and antagonism in all that constitute the characteristics of race ; in history, in geography, in language, and in physical features.

Whether the resemblance thus faintly supported amounts to an identification will be seen, Mr. Wheeler thinks, from the subsequent history. Now, the question being whether the Mughals of Timur and Babar were identical with the Aryans of the Vedas, it is not clear how the history of the Indian Empire of the

Timurides can further its solution. No doubt there were two great divisions of the Turkish race, but that will not prevent the Mughals from being of Turanian origin. The founder of the Mughal Empire in India was a Mughal by the mother's side, a Chaghtai of the kindred house of Timur, or Tamerlane, by the father's: he bore a Mohamadan name and professed the Mohamadan creed: he contracted political and domestic alliances with Moslem powers, and his descendants maintained Muslim manners and established Muslim institutions.

Not to dwell longer on this matter, the chief importance of which is the curious light that it throws on the author's mental habits, we may pass on to a few further illustrations of the blended carelessness and wilfulness which do so much to injure a bright and clever book.

In Part I. the Emperor Shah Jahan is introduced as an indolent voluptuary, leaning towards the superstitions of popular Hinduism. In Part II. we are told that he was a Shiah: no authority being given for either of these statements, so opposed to one another and to all beliefs derived from other and more original authorities. The miserable scandal about his relations towards his favourite daughter is raked up from Bernier, though it had been refuted by Mr. Wheeler's favourite "Manouchi." And we are told that the manner and time of Shahjahan's death are involved in mystery, though the date at least is given (within a few hours) in his epitaph in the Taj at Agra, and the death of a disappointed statesman of seventy-six, after many years of captivity, hardly seems to call for a far-fetched explanation.

مرقد مذکور و مضجع اطهر بادشاه رضوان دستگاه خلد آرامگاه اعلیحضرت  
علیئن مکانی فردوس اشیانی صاحب قران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی  
طاب ثراه و جعل الجنة مژده در شب بست و ششم شهر رجب سنه هزار و  
هفتاد و شش هجری از جهان فانی به بومگاه جاردانی انتقال کردند \*

The lover of original documents may like to see the text of the inscription, which shows that the ex-Emperor expired in the night of the 26th, Rajab A. H. 1076.

As for the statement regarding his son and successor Aurangzeb (known in contemporary annals as Alamgir I.), that he too was disposed towards Hinduism, it seems only necessary to observe that Mr. Wheeler himself corrects it in the very next page. Nor are the accounts of this ruler's family affairs more correct, as Mr. Wheeler would have learned if he had only condescended to check his European informants by equally accessible records. He says, most truly, that "gossip in Mughal courts is of a vague and



contradictory character." But should not the knowledge that this was so have taught him caution in adopting the statements of persons whose only source of information was precisely that very gossip ?

Among other inaccuracies may be further noticed the following : Balkh, it is said, never formed part of the Mughal Empire. But it was governed under Akbar by Nazar Beg ; it became independent *temp.* Jahangir, but was recovered by Shahjahan, A. D. 1646, and Aurangzeb was governor before coming to the throne. Mahabut Khan is said to have been a Rajput, though we are told by Jahangir himself that he was a Pathan of Kabul. Aurangzeb's wife by whom he had Kāmbuksh was not a Christian, but a Rajput ; and his chief wife,—the mother of the next Emperor Bahadur Shah—was not a Hindu but a Kashmiri of the Saiad tribe.

Coming down to the reign of this last-named monarch, the account of the disturbances in the Punjab is vague and hurried (v. p.p. 401, 2). Guru Gobind was in fact assassinated by an Afghan fanatic about 1708 A. D. Bandu, the next Guru, was not taken prisoner till eight years later. Among other small blunders may be noticed the queer crotchet about Kāmbuksh being the same name as the ancient "Cambyes" (p. 388). Kāmbuksh is really a Hindustani word implying "Love-given," while Cambyes is a Greek variant of the cuneiform Kabujya. Again, the old Nizam is called "Chin Kulich," whereas his real appellation was Chin Quilij, "sword-drawer ;" Quilij being a common Turkish word for sword, used in Constantinople to this day.

A writer need not make these very wilful blunders. Their correction scarcely required the consulting of original M.S.S. or oriental records ; the works to which reference has been chiefly made for the purpose being such as Tod's *Rajasthan*, Elliot's *Muhamadan Historians of India*, edited by Dowson, Keen's *Turks in India*, and Blochmann's *Translation of the Ain-Akbari*. The present reviewer makes no pretension to original research : and he has done no more than Mr. Wheeler might have—and ought to have—done for himself. The reports of European travellers may be listened too but should be verified before being trusted.

It is, indeed, in the combination of all available materials that a correct description of the events and influences produced in India by the Moslem rule can alone be obtained. Mr. Wheeler has the industry and the literary skill that are needful for such an undertaking. What he has not yet displayed is the intelligent scepticism which weighs, arranges, and sometimes rejects the materials that come to hand. As to European travellers in the East there is a particular need for caution ; one has only to talk

to the travellers that one may meet, or to read the books written by those who are our contemporaries, to perceive what this is. They labour under two disadvantages that are special and peculiar, beyond the difficulties common to all who visit foreign countries. Travellers in the East do not see all, or anything like all, the phenomena of social life: and what they do see they comprehend imperfectly and incorrectly for want of local knowledge and sympathy. The aspects of nature, the productions of human skill and industry, the outward frame-work of society, are things that are revealed to them, according to their faculties; but generally like a book in a foreign language, which cannot be quite understood even by the most intelligent and diligent of aliens. And, what is of most importance; the domestic habits, the mental instincts, the sources of emotion, the mould of motive, such things are not merely not plain, but are carefully concealed by the jealousy of the stagnant populations.

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*Mathura: a District Memoir.* By F. S. Growse, B.C.S., M.A. Oxon., C.I.E., Fellow of the Calcutta University. Second Edition. Illustrated, revised, and enlarged. 1880. Printed at the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press.

MR. Growse modestly informs us in the preface to the first edition, that this is one of the uniform series of local histories compiled by the order of the Government. It would, however, be a very fortunate government that could obtain a series of District Memoirs all prepared with the same accuracy and fulness of detail and in the same scientific spirit as this one. Mr. Growse has brought to his task an amount of general and special scholarship and of enthusiasm which few district officers possess, and he has produced a work which, take it altogether, stands without rival among local Indian histories. To the results of previous enquiries into the past of Mathura, legendary and historic, he has added the fruits of much careful personal research, especially into its archæology and religious history, the latter of great importance owing to the intimate connexion of the place with the development of Vaishnavism. Chapter VIII. contains a valuable account of the four great Vaishnava sects, with which, in this the second edition, Mr. Growse has incorporated a series of specimen translations from the works of Vaishnava reformers previously quite unknown outside the Vaishnava circle. In Chapter VII. we have an interesting sketch of the architecture of the district, the distinguishing feature in which is the series of splendid temples at Brindaban built in the eclectic style that prevailed in the reigns of Akbar and his successor Jahangir. Of this style

Mr. Growse says: "Its characteristic note can scarcely be defined as the fusion, but rather as the parallel exhibition, of the Hindu and Mahomedan method. Thus in a façade one storey, or one compartment, shows a succession of multifidil Saracenic arches, while above and below, on either side, every opening is square-headed with the architrave supported on projecting brackets. The one is purely Mahomedan, the other is as distinctly Hindu."

The munificence of the Mathura Seths has enabled Mr. Growse to illustrate his work profusely with autotypes from photographs taken by Messrs. Chunni Lal and Bhawani Ram, most of which have been admirably executed.

To us one of the most interesting portions of the Memoir is Chapter XII., dealing with the etymology of local names in Northern India, as exemplified in the district of Mathura. In this essay Mr. Growse satisfactorily establishes, as against Dr. Hunter's non-Aryan theory, the fact that the great mass of names, not of modern date, are traceable by the application of the ordinary laws of phonetic change, to the Sanskrit.

The Second Part of the Memoir deals with the topography of the district.

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*Asgard and the Gods.* Tales and Traditions of our Northern Ancestors told for Boys and Girls adapted from the Work of Dr. W. Wägner by M. W. Macdowall, and edited by W. S. W. Anson. With numerous Illustrations. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein and Allen, Paternoster Square, 1880.

FOR Englishmen Scandinavian mythology, apart from its scientific interest, must, owing to extent to which its spirit and even its machinery are incorporated in the folk-tales of their childhood, always possess a special charm. Even to the Hindus in the midst of sharp contrasts, it will occasionally speak in a familiar voice. In the work before us we have a popular exposition of the myths in narrative form and in a style at once attractive and appropriate to the subject, though we question whether it is not a little over the heads of average boys and girls.

The method adopted by the authors is essentially synthetical; and for elaborate criticism the reader must go elsewhere. Rationalistic interpretations of the myths are, indeed, frequently put forward, but without any attempt at learned argument, and at the same time without dogmatism. An idea of the style of the book will be best conveyed by a quotation.

Here is the myth of Gylphi in Asgard:—

Now Gylphi heard of all these events in his town of Sigthuna, and he was filled with wonder how such things could be. He saw Lake Läger (now Maciar), which had taken the place of the land the bulls had dragged away

with their plough. He heard from travellers that the promontories of Zealand running out into the sea had the same form as the bays of Lake Maelar in his own country. He knew that Gefion was of the race of the Ases, and he puzzled day and night over how they had come to be so powerful. He enquired of the sǫgls and wise men of his kingdom; he consulted his runic signs; but he gained no information from any of these regarding that which he wished to find out. As his longing after wisdom gave him no rest, he determined to set off on a journey in search of the land where the mighty Ases lived, even though the attempt to find it might cost him his life. His heart was set on making his way into Asgard that he might learn from its inhabitants of the creation and the end of the world, of the Ases' power and their mode of government, and of the fate of mankind, that he might afterwards make all these things known to mortal men.

King Gylphi was learned in magic. He took the unpretentious form of a common traveller, and called himself Gangleri (weary wanderer). He walked on a long way through Midgard, until he at length reached a palace, the height and circumference of which he could not measure. When he entered the doorway, he saw a vast hall before him, whose length his eye could not pierce. He perceived other mansions to the right hand and to the left, each of which was crowned with turrets that shone like gold in the sunlight. There was a tree there also, whose top rose to the immeasurable skies, and whose branches seemed to spread out over the whole world.

A man, playing with seven knives, was standing at the entrance of the palace. He threw them up into the air and caught them again, so that they seemed to form a shining circle. He asked the traveller what he wanted; Gylphi answered that his name was Gangleri, that he wished to have a night's lodging and to be admitted to the presence of the lord of the palace.

"He is our king," replied the door-keeper; "follow me, and thou shalt see his face."

Having said this, he preceded the traveller up the hall.

There they saw many noble warriors assembled, who were amusing themselves, wassailing, playing and wrestling. Three men of venerable aspect were seated on thrones, one of which was higher than the other two, watching the games.

"The first of these chieftains is Har (High)," said the guide, "the other is Jafenhar (Equally high), and the last is Thridi (the Third)."

While he was still speaking, Har turned to the new-comer, and said: "Dost thou need food, stranger; if so, thou wilt find abundant store in Har's hospitable hall. Sit down, and share our meal."

Gangleri replied: "Higher than food and foaming beakers do I prize wisdom, which lifts the mind above earthly things. So I would fain find a wise man, who can answer my questions."

"Ask," said the chieftain, "and thou shalt be answered. But beware thy head, for it is forfeited if thou provest thyself unwise."

Gangleri drew nearer to the thrones, and began: "Who is the highest and the oldest of the gods, and what are his works and deeds that are most worthy of man's admiration?"

Har answered: "Allfather is his name in our tongue, but all the nations of the earth give him a different name, each in their own way. He is the highest and mightiest at all times, and rules over all things, the smallest as well as the greatest."

Jafenhar went on: "He created heaven and earth, the sea and the air, and everything that lives and moves therein. He alone is the greatest Ruler."

"The greatest and most glorious of his works," said Thridi, "was the creation of man, whose spirit, given by him, will live on, and will not die even when the body containing it is turned to dust. The good will live with

him for ever in the place that is called Gimil, or Wingolf. The wicked shall also live, but they will descend to Hel, or even to Nifelhel deep down below in the ninth world."

After that, Gangleri asked many more questions regarding the creation and the end of the world, about the gods and their works, and about all the riddles of life, and he received answers and explanations.

But when he still went on enquiring further, the great hall suddenly burst with a terrible, loud crash, and in another moment everything had vanished. Gylphi found himself alone on a wide, desolate plain, where neither palace, tree nor shrub were to be seen. He set out at once on his homeward journey, and at last reached his own realm. There he related what he had seen and heard, and wise skalds sang of the marvellous things he had told them, and so knowledge grew and spread from land to land and from generation to generation, and did not die out of the memory of the people.

We see from this, what idea the Northern people had formed of the way in which the divine revelation was made. The conception of Allfather and his works appears to us to be the most remarkable part of this story and fully confirms what we have before said on this subject.

*Teutonic Mythology.* By Jacob Grimm. Translated from the 4th Edition, with Notes and Appendix by James Steven Stallybrass. Vol I. London. W. Swan Sonnenschein and Allen, Paternoster Square, 1880.

GRIMM'S well-known work on Teutonic Mythology is of a totally different character to that which we have just noticed. On the one hand, it is analytical and critical, and deals with minute details ; on the other, it regards the subject from a purely German stand-point, embracing the Scandinavian system only partially and incidentally. Its established reputation renders criticism of the original superfluous. The translator's work appears to have been thoroughly well done.

Grimm's Preface, which gives a resumé of the entire subject, and to the general reader will be the most interesting part of the work, he has reserved to accompany Vol II.

*The Ramayana of Tulsi Das.* Translated from the original Hindi by F. S. Growse, B.C.S., M.A., Oxon., C.I.E. Fellow of the Calcutta University. Books III.—VI. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1880.

THE second portion of Mr. Growse's translation is in no way inferior to the first, of which a second edition has, we see, been called for. While the English is throughout idiomatic, the spirit of the original is carefully preserved.

Mr. Growse, we see, proposes to re-issue the entire work, during the current year, illustrated with photographic landscape views of some of the principal places mentioned in the poem, and, what

will be still more interesting, with reproductions of the best Hindu pictures he can procure, exhibiting the old conventional treatment of some of the most celebrated incidents.

*A Hindustani-English Law and Commercial Dictionary.* By S. W. Fallon, Ph.D. Halle. E. J. Lazarus & Co., Banaras. Trübner & Co. London, 1879.

THIS is, in the main, the same author's English-Hindustani Law and Commercial Dictionary reversed, and Dr. Fallon's name is a sufficient guarantee of its excellence. Along with the Arabic phrases in common use in the Courts, Dr. Fallon has been careful to give Hindi equivalents, which show that the latter language is fully equal to the task of supplying an intelligible legal phraseology. In that substitution of the vernacular tongue for the foreign jargon at present current in the Courts towards which modern tendencies point, Dr. Fallon's work is likely to prove exceedingly useful, while, as a guide to existing usage, it leaves nothing to be desired.

*The Faith of Islam.* By the Revd. Edward Sell, Fellow of the University of Madras. Trübner & Co., London. Addison & Co., Madras, 1880.

OF all questions connected with Muhammadanism, the most important is the question whether it is capable of progress; whether, at least, it possesses sufficient elasticity to enable it to adapt itself to the social and political changes going on around it. As no organism that is devoid of adaptive capacity can survive extensive change in the conditions of its environment, so no system, social, political, or religious, that is similarly deficient, can long sustain existence in the midst of surroundings that differ widely from those which engendered it. In these days of rapid development, whatever lacks this important vital principle is doomed to speedy decay and dissolution.

On the true answer to this question regarding Islam, depends the ultimate issue of the Eastern question. That the rule of the Musalman Turk, in Europe at least, is out of harmony with the times; that a generation or two hence, if it remains unchanged, the discord will be yet more violent, are facts which are beyond dispute. If, then, Islam is essentially incapable of reform, any attempt to prop up Turkey is worse than vain. The question is differently answered by different authorities. Syed Amir Ali, for instance, in his "Life of Muhammad," maintains that Islam is quite able to adapt itself to new circumstances; while the

author of the work before us maintains that it is essentially rigid and incapable of change. No nation, he argues, can possibly progress whose legal and theocratic systems are based on a set of specific precepts which can neither be added to, nor taken from, nor modified to suit altered circumstances. For this view, we must say, we think Mr. Sells makes out a very strong case.

His chapter on the Foundations of Islám gives a very clear idea of both the character and the force of the Qurán, the Traditions, the Ijmá and the Qiás, and this account, it seems to us, leaves no loop-hole of escape from the conclusion that what is the duty of the true Musúlmán in every possible case has been fixed in a way which makes innovation and heterodoxy synonymous. As regards the Qurán and Sunnat, their interpretation having been long since authoritatively settled, this is self-evident. It might, perhaps, have been thought that in the Ijmá, or decisions of the assembled leading theologians, there was an opening for the exercise of progressive judgment. But among the Sunnis at least, since the death of the four Imams, there have been no theologians of the rank of Mujtahid, and there can be none in the future, qualified to make Ijmá.

Qiás, again, is regulated by fixed rules, "the most important of which is that in all cases it must be based on the Qurán, the Sunnat, and the Ijmá. In fact, the fundamental idea of Islám is that a perfect law has been given, even unto details, of social and political life. The teaching of Muhammad contains the solution of every difficulty that can arise. Every law not provided by the Prophet must be deduced analogically."

Mr. Sell's remaining chapters are on the exegesis of the Qurán and the Traditions; the Sects of Islám; the Creed of Islám; the Practical Duties of Islám; and the Feasts and Fasts of Islám, under all which heads the information he gives is at once detailed and critical.

The work contains the best examination of Islám, as a system, and apart from the life of its founder and its historic relations, that we know of; while at the same time it is free from prolixity and admirably clear and readable.

*The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon.* By Sir John B. Phear. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

TO an intimate knowledge of his subject, gained from personal experience, Sir John Phear adds the special gift of describing places and scenes in language which is not only accurate and, on occasion, picturesque, but, what is of no less importance, enables ordinary imaginations to realise them without effort.

The title he has chosen for his book might lead the reader to expect some dry dissertation on the rise and development of rural institutions in India and Ceylon. So far, however, from its being of this character, we know of no work better calculated, at least as regards Bengal, either to give English readers a correct idea of rural life and rural scenery as they are, or to interest them in the subject.

Though the scientific aspects of the subject are not ignored, the matter of a large portion of the book is concerned with the concrete aspects of things as they are, and the language is popular. This is especially the case with the first part of the book, which was originally published in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, and which deals with modern village life in Bengal. The second part is devoted to the agricultural community of Ceylon, and is the substance of notes made by the writer on the spot; and the third part, entitled "From the Joint Family to the Village," is an attempt to explain the growth *ab initio* of the Bengal institution, and the rise of the social grades and conceptions of property connected with it, by the application of the principles of evolution and differentiation.

#### VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

*Ghorár Dim*, Printed by Bholá Náth Chakrabarti at the Chikitsátattwa Press, No. 80, Muktarám Bábu's Street, Chorebagan, and published by Sarach Chandra Deb, at No. 39, Muktarám Bábu's Street, Calcutta. Aswin, 1287, B. S.

THE author of these few pages of verse has followed the growing practice of giving a queer name to a worthless book. But we doubt whether he has acted wisely in doing so, for his book is really not a worthless one. The risk he runs is that the public may be misled by the name of his book into neglecting it as one of that despicable mass of street literature than which it is really so much higher and purer. The story he describes is as follows:—A poor shepherd boy, meeting with a fisherman on his way to the market, wants to purchase a fish, which is somewhat aristocratic of its kind, and is taunted by the fisherman with the aristocratic desire of riding the high horse. The fisherman goes his way, but the shepherd boy spends restless days and nights in the vain search of a horse, for the purchase of which he is provided with the splendid sum of one rupee saved from the scanty earnings of many a weary day. For a rupee, however, no one consents to sell him even a colt, and his mortification at the thought of being unable to return the fisherman's compliment by actually keeping a stable becomes unbounded. A shrewd shopkeeper takes advantage of his stupidity to cheat him out of his pocket by selling him a large gourd which he



takes away under the impression that it is a horse's egg, which in due time will yield him an animal of the kind he wants. In the course of his journey homeward he feels it necessary to give himself a few minutes' rest, and accordingly, at the dusky hour of nightfall, he relieves himself of his load by placing his precious egg on an old and fragile bamboo scaffolding under which a jackal is just then lurking. The scaffolding gives way; the gourd falls with a heavy sound and is cracked; the affrighted jackal runs away; and the poor shepherd boy pursues the flying animal in the belief that it is the colt which the egg has duly delivered to him for the rupee he has paid for it. The story, it is clear, is a trifle and would reflect little credit upon the author even if it were all his own, which, however, we have reason to doubt. Nor is the moral of the story so grand or profound as to constitute by itself a title to literary fame. That the fool who entertains aspirations too far above the legitimate aspirations of his class only makes himself ridiculous in the end, is a truth which every one but the fool has understood from the very beginning of human life. Neither invention nor moral depth therefore, constitutes the merit of this little work. Its merit lies in the descriptive power displayed in it. Of this we feel tempted to give a few samples. The following is the author's description of Day-break:—

নাইকো রাত্তি, নিবিয়ে বাতী, উষা সতী এল ।  
 মলিন মুখে, মনের ছুখে, অঁধার চলে গেল ॥  
 সূর্য্যোদয়, রাঙা জামা, পর লো টেনে গায় ।  
 রাঙা চোকে, থেকে থেকে, পাহাড় পানে চায় ॥  
 এমন কালে, তমাল-ডালে, ডাকলো কোকিল দল ।  
 পালক নেড়ে, ফেল্চে ঝেড়ে, নিশির শিশির জল ॥  
 মুখটি চাকা, মটর-সোকা, কুটরে পৌঁচার পাল ।  
 ঠোকর ভরে, লুকয় গিয়ে, খেয়ে কাগের গাল ॥  
 কুলের বঁধু, প্রাণের বঁধু, ছেড়ে সকাল বেলা ।  
 আল্লে গা, টল্লে পা, চল্লে চাঁদের মেলা ॥  
 বোঁ-কথা-ক, পাখী বলে,—“ও বোঁ কথা ক ” ।  
 ঘোমটা খুলে, মুখটি তুলে, বোঁ হ'লে ধ ॥  
 কুলের বালা, এঁটো খালা, মাজতে চলে বাটে ।  
 মুখটি হেঁট, চাপ্ড়ে পেট, কেউ বা চলে মাঠে ॥  
 কেউ বা চলে, হেলে ছলে, কলসী নিয়ে কাঁকে ।  
 কেউ বা জলে, আস্তে ওলে, ভয়টা বড় পাঁকে ॥

ভাড়াভাড়ি, ছড়া-হাঁড়ী, গিন্নী নিয়ে করে ।  
 গোবর গুলে, কেল্চে ঢেলে, বাড়ীর উঠান ভ'রে ।  
 আমের পাভা, স্নাতোয় গাথা, হাত খানেকের নল ।  
 ছ'কোয় দিয়ে, চোক বুজিয়ে, টান্চে বুড়োর দল ॥

This reminds us very forcibly of the late Bábu Dinabandhu Mitra's description of morning in the *Banga Darsana*. It is less refined than the latter, but not less bold or graphic. The following is the description of a village pond :—

হাটের পাশে একটি পুকুর, কাক'চক্ষু জল ।  
 পানকৌড়ী ডুব্চে জলে, ভাঁস্চে হাঁসের দল ॥  
 গলা-জলে বালী জ্বলে, এমনি পরিষ্কার ।  
 উটু পাড়ে তালের গাছ, নীচে ঘাসের ঝাড় ॥  
 চাঁপা, চাটিম, কানাই-বাঁশী, রাম রস্তা ভক ।  
 কাক কলা থাক ধরেচে, কাক কলা সব ॥  
 শেয়াকুলের কাঁটা ঝাড়, পাকা শেয়াকুল ।  
 কোন্‌খানে বা হলুদে পারা শেয়াল-কাঁটার ফুল ॥  
 কোন্‌খানে বা বাবলাগাছে বেরিয়ে আছে আটা ।  
 কোন্‌খানে বা চেঁচায় পাঁচী, চিবিয়ে কুলের কাঁটা ॥

A first-rate painter could not have given us a better picture than this.

The reader remembers Goldsmith's description of the poor aged widow in the *Deserted Village*:—

“All but you widow'd, solitary thing,  
 That feebly bends beside the plashy spring;  
 She, wretched matron, fore'd in age, for bread,  
 To strip the brook with mantling cresses spread,  
 To pick her wintry faggot from the thorn,  
 To seek her nightly shed, and weep till morn.”

Let the reader compare with this the following description of a poor old woman by the author of *Ghorár Dim* :—

এমন সময়, একটা বুড়ী, মাথায় ক'রে শাকের বুড়ী,  
 হাতে ধ'রে ভাঙা নড়ী, এলো পুকুর ঘাটে ।  
 ময়লা মোটা কাপড় পরা, পাকা চুলে ইকুন ভর',  
 • হাড় জিল জিল, চামড়া সারা, ভাত নাইক পেটে ॥  
 আঁতে বুড়ী নেবে জলে, হাত বাড়িয়ে কলমী তোলে,  
 নফর ভায়ে ডেকে বলে, “কান পুকুর গো এটা ?”

It would be unjust to say that the picture of the Bengali poet is less graphic or life-like than that of the author of the *Deserted Village*. Indeed, the realistic tone and appearance of *Ghorár Dim* is something like a novelty in Bengali poetry, which generally deals either with morbid sentimentalism or with a material world very different from that which we see around us. Poetry of the kind quoted above implies an appreciation of the every-day world which is seldom shown by Bengali authors, and a habit of observation which Bengalis as a nation do not possess, but the cultivation of which is absolutely necessary for the purposes of the new civilisation which they must now accept. *Ghorár Dim*, though a small thing, possesses great value. It is written in a spirit which we hope and trust will become more general among Bengali authors.

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*Phula-báld. (Lyric Poems). Part I.* By Debendra Náth Sen. Printed by I. C. Bose & Co., at the Stanhope Press, 249, Bow-bazar Street, Calcutta, and published by the Author at Gazipur. 1287 B. E.

Bábu Debendra Náth Sen's poetry is very different from that of the author of *Ghorár Dim*. The latter is realistic; the former is ideal and sentimental. But though belonging to the class which we so often condemn, we are glad to be able to say that Bábu Debendra Náth's poetry is free from many of the faults which characterise that class. Its beauties, indeed, are many. It displays excellent taste; it is full of the 'instinct of poetry'; it evinces a most delicate sympathy with objective beauty; it exhibits a fine appreciation of harmony between the moral and the material world. The poems contained in this part are lyrical addresses to flowers looked at as different types of female beauty and female sentiment. The following extract from the poem addressed to the *Kámini* may be taken as a specimen:—

প্রাঙ্গণে ফুটেছে তুমি কামিনী সুন্দরি,  
নিশিতোর না হইতে, ভাল করে না ফুটিতে,  
কি ভাব-আবেশে ফুল বাও তুমি ঝরি?  
সত্য করি বল যোরে কামিনী সুন্দরি।

হায় রে তোমারি মত নারীর বোঁবন।  
ভাল করি না ফুটিতে, সুগৌরভ না ছুটিতে,  
স্মৃতি দর্পনের ডগে হয় রে পতন;  
তাই কি কৌশল হলে করা ও অরণ?

অথবা শিখাও তুমি বঙ্গ কামিনীয়ে,  
এই রূপে প্রেমাবেশে মুখ খুলি হেনে হেনে,  
মুখ-মধু ত্বলে দিতে পতির অধরে,  
মিতি নব নব ভাবে তুৰিতে আদরে !

Here is another :—

শান্তিনগরী সন্ধ্যা সখী আনন্দ ধরয়ে,  
ধীরে ধীরে বকুল লো ছুঁইলা তোমায়,  
অমনি খুলিলে মুখ, অমনি ও কুজ বুক  
মধুর ভাণ্ডার খুলি আহ্লাদ জানায় ।

এই রূপে দেখিয়াছি বঙ্গকুলবালা,  
মরমে লুকায়ে রীখে মরমের জ্বালা ;  
মনঃ-ব্যথা অজ্যকারে, লাজে প্রকাশিতে নারে,  
কহে হৃদয় সখীগাশে ত্যজি ছলা কলা ।

Bábu Debendra Náth Sen looks at flowers—nature's loveliest creations—with a poet's eye. He finds in them the history of woman, and he sketches that history with a pencil dipped in the gentlest colours of poetry. He is one of the few Bengali poets who ought to woo the Muses with greater devotion and chivalry. We sincerely trust that the second part of *Phulabálá* will be still better than the first.

*Banga Sáhitya o Banga Bhásá Bisaye Baktrilá.* Read by Gangá Charan Sarkár at the premises of the Dacca College in the month of Ashár 1286 B.E. Printed and published by Nandalála Basu at the Sádharani Press, Chinsura, 1880.

**B**ábu Gangá Charan Sarkár is a judicial officer who is about to retire from the service of which he is such a distinguished member. His appearance in the field of Bengali literature has, therefore, a meaning which ought to be carefully noted. When an old man, who has passed the best years of his life in the performance of the grave duties of a judge, thinks it worth his while to write out a history of Bengali literature, it becomes difficult to speak of that literature in the contemptuous terms in which it is sometimes described by natives and foreigners. The view which Babu Gangá Charan takes of his country's literature, though not exhaustive, is certainly very interesting. He is a warm lover and an ardent admirer of that literature ; and we cannot say that either his love or his admiration is misdirected. Commencing with the great mediæval poets, of whom he seems to be a very appreciative

reader, Bábu Gangá Charan runs through all the epochs of Bengali literature, including the one which has not yet closed. It is of course a very rapid survey; but it is a survey made by a man who knows how to tell the shortest tale in the most interesting fashion. The style of the paper deserves one word of notice. It is not the new Bengali style; it is not the old Bengali style. It is both old and new; it is a history by itself. We will give the reader two specimens :—

Speaking of Bidyápati :—

তাহার পদাবলী শ্রবণে সুমধুরা, বিবিধ ভাব পূর্ণা এবং নানা রূপ উপমায় অলঙ্কৃত। রূপ চিত্রিতে, অনুরাগ আঁকিতে এবং প্রেমিকের অন্তস্তলের ভাব ভাষিতে বিদ্যাপতি একজন অদ্বিতীয় কবি।

Comparing Bidyápati with Chandi Das :—

উভয়ের মধ্যে প্রভেদ এই যে, বিদ্যাপতির কবিতা কিছু গভীর, চণ্ডীদাসের কবিতা তরল রসে ঢল ঢল; বিদ্যাপতির রচনা চমৎকারিতায় চিত্তহর, চণ্ডীদাসের রচনা সাদা সিন্দা এবং সহজ ভাবে সুখকর; বিদ্যাপতির কল্পনা-শক্তি বিবিধ বিচিত্র ভাব চিত্রনে সুপটু, চণ্ডীদাসের কল্পনা স্বীয় নটবর নায়ককে নাট্যকাভিনায়ক বালকের ন্যায় বিবিধ বেশে সাজাইতে সুনিপুণ।

The two extracts will also enable the reader to form an idea of Babu Gangá Charan's powers as a literary artist.

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*Kābya-Sundari.* By Purna Chandra Basu. Printed and published by G. C. Basu and Co., at 309, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta. 1287, B.S.

**T**HIS is the first work of its kind in Bengali. It gives a critical estimate of the female characters in the novels of Bábu Bankim Chandra Chatterji much in the style in which Mrs. Jameson has analysed Shakspeare's heroines. The critical powers displayed in the work are really of a very high order. We do not agree in all that Babu Purna Chandra says; but we warmly admire the spirit, tone, and style of all that he has written. As a specimen of æsthetic criticism in Bengali, Bábu Purna Chandra's work deserves a high place in Bengali literature, and ought to be thankfully welcomed by all who feel a patriotic interest in the development of that literature.

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*Jeebun Bindu, a short Memoir of Soudamini, the beloved Wife of Rakhal Chandra Raya.* Printed and published by Bhuban Mohan Ghosh at the Sadharan Brahma Somaj Press, Calcutta. 1286, B.S.

THIS is a brief memoir of a Brahma lady who has lately died. She was the wife of Bābu Rakhal Chandra Raya, a member of the well-known Lakutia family in the district of Backergunge. We learn from the memoir that Mrs. Raya could read, write and sing, entertained very advanced views of social and domestic life, acted up to the full height of her convictions, and did much to promote female education in this country. For all this Mrs. Raya certainly deserved a memoir, and we are glad that a memoir has been written by the only man who had a right to do so. There is, however, one point on which we wish to say a word. The writer of the memoir has made an attempt to represent Mrs. Raya in the light of a persecuted martyr. But without desiring to deprive Mrs. Raya of an iota of the praise which may be justly due to her, we feel bound to state that a perusal of her memoir deeply impresses us with the belief, that if any one felt the sting of social persecution, it was not she, but those among her friends and relations whom she abandoned for the sake of her religion and social creed. Such memoirs possess an obvious interest.

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*Nalini. A Monthly Journal and Review, Nos. 1, 2 and 3.* Printed at the Kar Press, 166, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, and published by N. N. Bose. 1287, B.S.

WE sincerely welcome this new Bengali periodical, for we have a belief that it is Bengali periodicals that will henceforth do most for Bengali literature. *Nalini* seems to be a well-conducted paper. Its most interesting feature is its science element. We hope the editor will devote more space to science than to imaginative literature. We venture to predict a very useful career for *Nalini*.

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*Saral Jwara-Chikitsa, Part I.* By Dr. Jadunath Mukherji. Printed and published by Nityanand Ghosh at the Chikitsa Prakāsh Press, 160, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.

BABU Jadunath Mukherji has rendered eminent service to his country by the many useful medical works he has already written in Bengali. His *Sarir Palān* is the best sanitary primer used in the schools of Bengal. The work under notice is another admirable contribution made by him to Bengali medical literature. It is a treatise describing the treatment of fever. We cannot

help confessing that we have read this treatise with a feeling of unmixed delight and admiration. We have not seen another exposition of a scientific subject so simple, so lucid, so entertaining, so free from scientific heaviness. Dr. Jadunath has evidently a faculty for popularising medical science such as few in any country possess. The work has another important feature. In describing the treatment of fever, it takes due notice of differences in rank and wealth, and the different conditions of town life and village life in this country. It is a work of rare merit, creditably got up.

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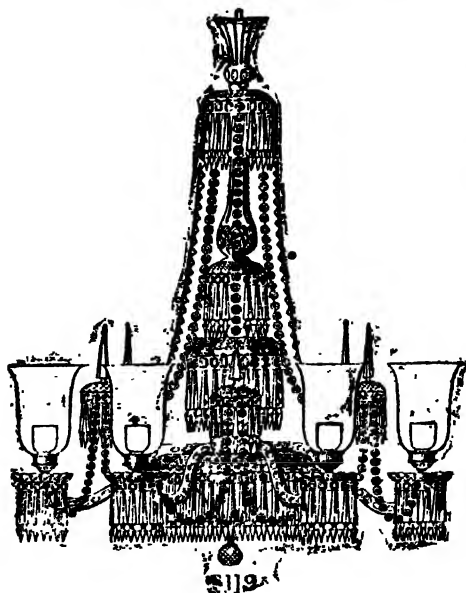


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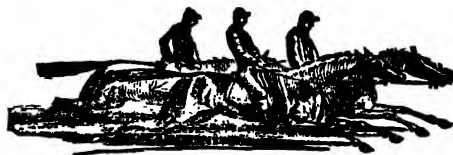
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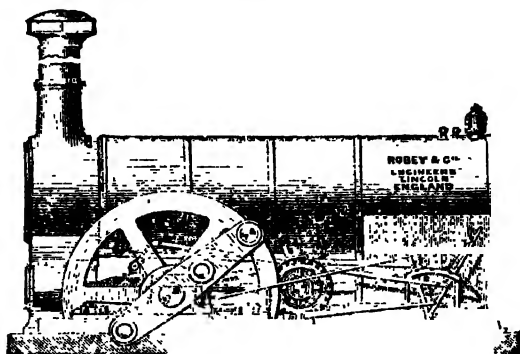
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# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CXLVI.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
ART. I.—A NEW STUDY OF THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY.	209
„ II.—THE LIFE OF COLIN CAMPBELL, LORD CLYDE : Illustrated by Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence. By Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C. B., 2 vols. William Blackwood & Sons, 1881. ...	223
„ III.—A SONG ABOUT SAKHI SARWAR ...	253
„ IV.—OUR JOINT FAMILY ORGANISATION ...	275
„ V.—THE POETRY OF DEROZIO ...	301
„ VI.—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF PORTUGUESE INDIA. With a List of its Viceroys, Governors and Captains-General till 1881. ...	321
„ VII.—HINDI AND THE BIHAR DIALECTS ...	363
„ VIII.—SOCIAL LIFE IN BENGAL FIFTY YEARS AGO. BY AN OLD INDIAN ...	378
THE QUARTER ...	401

### CRITICAL NOTICES:—

#### I.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

- 1.—Hindu Philosophy. The Sankhya Karika of  
Iswara Krishna : An exposition of the System  
of Kapila, with an Appendix on the Nyaya  
and Vaisesika Systems. By John Davies,  
M. A. (Cantab), Member of the Royal Asiatic  
Society, London : Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill,  
1881...



- 2.—Indian Poetry: Containing a new Edition of **PAGE**.  
 "The Indian Song of Songs," from the  
 Sanskrit of the *Gita Gōvinda* of Jayadeva;  
 two Books from "The Iliad of India" (*Mahā-  
 bhārata*); "Proverbial Wisdom," from the  
*Shlokas* of the *Hitopadesa*, and other Oriental  
 Poems. By Edwin Arnold, M. A., London :  
 Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1881. ... ii
  
- 3.—*Mani-Mālā*, or a Treatise on Gems. By Sourin-  
 dro Mohun Tagore, Mus. Doc., Knight-  
 Commander of the Order of Leopold of Bel-  
 gium; Knight-Commander of the 1st Class of  
 the Order of Albert of Saxony; Chevalier of  
 the Imperial Order of Medjidie of Turkey,  
 etc., etc., Calcutta: Printed by I. C. Bose and  
 Co., Stanhope Press, 249, Bowbazar Street,  
 and published by the Author, 1879 ... iv
  
- 4.—The Gulistan : or Rose Garden, of Shekh Muslihu-  
 'd-din Sā'fī, of Shirāz. Translated for the first  
 time into Prose and Verse, with an Introductory  
 Preface, and a Life of the Author, from the  
*Atish Kadh*. By Edward B. Eastwick, C. B.,  
 M. A., F. R. S., M. R. A. S., etc., Second  
 Edition. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate  
 Hill, 1880 ... .. v
  
- 5.—Anglo-Indians and Eurasians. By S. F. Heron,  
 Simla: Printed by Churn Dass at the Station  
 Press, 1881. ... .. ib.
  
- 6.—The Story of Philosophy. By Aston Leigh,  
 London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1881... vii

## 2.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

PAGE.

- 7.—Dui Bhagni (Upanyás). By Dámodar Mukhopádhyáya. Printed by Gopál Chandra De, 14, Duff Street, Calcutta ... .. x
- 8.—Mahátmá Rájá Rámmohan Ráyer Jibancharít. By Nagendra Náth Chattopádhyáya. Printed by Bipin Bihári Ráya at the Ráya Press, 17, Bhabáni Charan Datta's Lane, and published at the Ráya Press Depository, 14, College Square, Calcutta, 1287, B. S. ... .. xii
- 9.—Mahátmá Rájá Rámmohan Ráya Sambandhiya kshudra kshudra galpa. By Nandamohan Chattopádhyáya. Printed and published by Bholánáth Chakrabarti at the Barát Press, 12, Pataldángá Street, Mirzápur, Calcutta, 1287, B. S. ... .. xiii
- 10.—Udásin Satyasrabàr Asam Bhraman. Printed by B. M. Ghosh at the Sadharan Brahma Samaj Press, 93, College Street, and published by the Ráya Press Depository, 14, College Square, Calcutta ... .. id.
- 11.—Jagannáth Tarakapanchànan Jiban Brittá. By the late Umá Charan Bháttácharjya. Printed by Nandalál Basu at the Sádharani Press, Chinsurah, 1880, A. D... .. xv
- 12.—Bhárat-mahilá. By Hara Prasád Sástri, M. A. Printed by Rádhánáth Bandyopádhyáya at the Bangadarsan Press, Kántálpárá, and published at the Sanskrit Press Depository, Calcutta, 1287, B. S. ... .. xvi

- 13.—Nirjharini (gitikābya), Pratham Khanda. PAGE.  
By Debendranāth Sen. Printed at the Iswār  
Chandra Basu and Company's Stanhope Press,  
249, Bowbazar, Calcutta, and published by the  
Author at Ghazipur, 1287 B. S ... xviii
- 14.—Sanskrit Philosophers on the Vedas. By  
Prāsanna Kumār Bidyāratna, Translator of  
Manu-sāṁhitā. Printed by Rājkrishna Sinha  
at the Berhampore Dhanasindhu Press, and  
published by Prāsanna Kumār Bidyāratna,  
1288, B. S ... xix
- 15.—Madirā. By Bhubaneswar Mitra. Printed  
and published by Kshetra Mohan Mukhopā-  
dhyāya at the Saraswati Press, 20, Jhāmā-  
pukur Lane, Calcutta, 1287, B. S ... xx
- 16.—Sarat-Sashi; Sāmāyik Upanyās. Part I. By  
Nisi Kumār Ghosh. Printed and published  
by Ramālāth Ghosh at the New Arya Press,  
Calcutta, 128, B. S ... ib.
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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CXLVI.

## ART. I.—A NEW STUDY OF THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY.

A VERY remarkable examination of the Gospels has lately appeared in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, from the pen of M. Ernest Havet, of the Institute. As I am not acquainted with any work on the subject so trenchant, independent and uncompromising, I here attempt to represent its chief outlines, at the same time observing that I do not undertake to pledge either the reader or myself to a complete acceptance of all the arguments adduced, or all the conclusions drawn.

Almost every one must have heard of the international competition to paint a camel. How the English artist went to Egypt and made careful studies for six months; how the Frenchman hastened, in a spare moment, to the Jardin-des-Plantes and throw off a spirited *ébauche*; while the German shut himself up for a year, and at the end of the time produced the Idea of the animal evolved from the depths of his moral consciousness. Much in the same spirit has the subject of Jesus been recently treated by three representatives of the chief nations of the civilised world, Herr Strauss, M. Renan, and Professor Seeley. But the present study is not strictly in the style of the *Leben Jesu*, of the *Vie de Jésus*, or of our own *Ecce Homo*. Without the metaphysical ambitiousness of the first, it has neither the artistic character of the second, nor the ethical exertion of the third. Yet it will be found by no means uninteresting or purely negative; and it deserves attention, as the contribution of an unbiassed inquirer, who collects and analyses the evidence, and

endeavours to show not only what may, but what must, have been.

M. Havet's study is full of original thoughts and of facts not previously much utilised. He begins with pointing out that the propagation of the Christian doctrine which began in the days of Claudius, only took the place of a Jewish propaganda that had been already going on for some years; that it was introduced at a time when both Jews and Gentiles were on the look-out for a new spiritual dawn; and that its progress was hastened, if not determined, by the fall of Jerusalem about twenty-five years later than the first appearance of the new sect at Antioch. Connecting his subject in this way with the general history of the shores of the Mediterranean at the time, the author contrives to place it in a new and very striking light.

Already (37 B.C.) Herod the Great had succeeded in supplanting the Asmonean dynasty who were the last Jewish rulers of Palestine. The sceptre had departed from Judah, and the prophecy (Genesis XLIX., 10) was in all men's minds and creating a general expectation of the coming of Shiloh. Herod had suppressed, with equal courage and cruelty, the marauding bands of the North and East; but the adventurous spirits of those quarters clung tenaciously to their lawless aspirations; in particular we are told of "Judas the Galilean," who proclaimed the Kingdom of the Lord (*Jos. Ant.* XVIII., 1, 6,) and "drew away much people after him" (*Acts* V. 37). It is more than probable that this leader at least announced himself as the messiah, Christ or "the Anointed," as also did a contemporary adventurer, named Theudas, who said that "he was some one." Then followed John the Baptist; regarded by the Church as the Forerunner of the Gospel dispensation, but thought at the time by many to be "the Christ" (*Luke* III., 15) and preached as such by his own disciples, as we are distinctly informed by Clemens Romanus. So great was the sensation produced by John, that Josephus does not hesitate to say that the defeat of Herod Antipas by Aretas, the Arabian, was generally attributed to the Divine displeasure kindled by his putting John to death. When Jesus first appeared in public as a teacher, Antipas is represented as saying that he must be John risen from the dead; and all seems to point to the conclusion that Messianic expectations were in the air, and that the Advent was only one of several such occurrences of the period.

"In spite of which," pursues our author, "Jesus has remained definitively the one Messiah of Christianity; and the study of the sources of that religion must end at last in the study of His life. Than which, however, nothing is more difficult. For we

have no other information on its details but what we find in the documents called 'the Four Gospels;' and these documents are but meagre records. Firstly, they are not contemporaneous with the events which they record, for all are certainly of later date than the fall of Jerusalem. Next, being written in Greek, they must have been addressed to countries foreign to the scene of the events recorded; at a distance from eye-witnesses, both as to time and as to place.

He goes on to say of these documents (of which the earliest must have been written not less than forty years after the events) that Strauss has so completely demonstrated their irreconcilable discrepancies, that the only chance for those who wish to believe them capable of reconciliation is—not to open Strauss's book, to which no serious reply is, in his opinion, possible. For his own part, while admitting that all narratives must present *bona fide* differences of statement, M. Havet declares that it often seems to him that the true story has been lost, and that the loss has been supplied by the work of the imagination.

No doubt, there are traces of an earlier record, in the Epistles which—after negative criticism has done its work—remain clearly attributable to S. Paul. Of these M. Havet allows four, the Epistles to the Galatians, to the Corinthians (1st and 2nd) and to the Romans. But, seeing that S. Paul had never known the Lord, his brief references—apart from the value assignable to inspiration—are by no means abundant. In this state of doubt and difficulty M. Havet is desirous of making the most of that Gospel which is generally allowed by the best critics to be the most ancient; and accordingly the rest of his article is chiefly devoted to a study of the narrative called "the Gospel according to S. Mark."

M. Havet is satisfied that we must begin by entirely eliminating the miraculous element even from this narrative. In such things it is evident to him that there can be no "actuality." If asked how he accounts for the persistent belief of the authors and readers of these comparatively early records in such things, he replies:—"It was believed that Jesus had done miracles because it was believed that he was the Messiah; for it was believed that the Messiah must do miracles." He traces this expectation to a too literal interpreting of the visions of the revival of Israel proclaimed by Isaiah; and holds that by a two-fold error the figurative language of the prophet was taken too literally, and then its imagined fulfilment was taken as a proof that Israel's long-looked-for Messiah had come. Those who, after the death of Jesus, believed that he had been the Messiah, believed that the signs that had been announced as

Messianic must have accompanied his coming. To these reasons, acting on an observation of the power which Jesus really possessed of chasing away those sufferings of the nervous system believed at the time to be of Satanic origin, M. Havet attributes both the records of miracles and their ready belief.

As for the special value of the Gospel that bears the name of Mark, it is considerable, but not unqualified. It is probably not the record mentioned by Papias; as has been shown by the author of *Supernatural Religion* (a book which M. Havet does not seem to have met with); and therefore we cannot be certain that, like that record, it contains any portion of tradition derived from S. Peter. And it was written, like all the similar narratives that have come down to us, in a foreign language and at a distant time. Professor Christlieb, the convinced but learned apologist of Bonn, admits that "the preference for 'the second Gospel may be the result of critical investigation';" and, since he nowhere refutes that conclusion, we must presume that he was unable to do so—unless, indeed, he thought the point not sufficiently material to deserve inquiry. He also allows that this Gospel omits not only the Incarnation and Infancy, but also the appearances after death, and much of the other elements of miracle elsewhere so abundant. Yet even this simple narrative appears to M. Havet to be of no greater authority than as an edifying little story, founded perhaps on fact, but published for the sake of spiritual instruction rather than of historical information. It is as if an educated Hindu were to publish at Petersburg, or Paris, about the end of the present century, a pious tract containing an imaginary account of the carpenter of Amritsir, whose movement was nipped in the bud about the year 1872.

In analysing this book M. Havet is, of course, careful to explain that he rejects every remaining element of the supernatural. From his point of view not only are miracles impossible, but prophetic utterances also. For the antidote to these postulates, we must refer once more to the excellent work of Professor Christlieb,\* of which it may fairly be said that no apologetic book has appeared at once so vigorous and so much in harmony with the philosophical thought and language of the present day. To the enlightened theologian, anxious to preserve a reasonable orthodoxy without entirely shutting his ears to modern controversy, no more useful work could be commended.

M. Havet, however, is in no danger of falling into the error that has so often characterised modern Sceptics; that

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\* There is an English translation *Christian Belief*. Edinburgh, F. and of this book; *Modern Doubt and* T. Clark. 1871.

Euhemerism which, after rejecting the supernatural, is prepared to accept all the rest. Far from that: he accepts Grote's excellent principle, that in such matters the possible is equally dependent on evidence. It may be somewhat simpler, from his point of view, to deal with the impossible; and its introduction may taint a record which, but for its presence, might pass without comment. But, when comment has been once attracted, we may often find less marvellous matter to better voucher for than the rest.

All that remains quite certain, according to M. Havet, is that Jesus of Nazareth was a Jewish reformer who was crucified under Pontius Pilate. To this simple residuum does he reduce the creeds. And the striking novelty of his treatment is the boldness with which he undertakes to establish the doubtful, if not the absolutely untrue, character of these three propositions which most of the least compromising of Rationalists have hitherto regarded as beyond question. Namely:—

1. That Jesus claimed to be the Christ.
2. That He was put to death after a solemn condemnation pronounced by the chief priests and elders of the Jews, Pilate being the agent of this sentence.
3. That He proclaimed that God had abandoned the Jews as His chosen people; and that the inheritance of Israel had passed to the Gentiles.

I hope that I have sufficiently guarded myself against the supposition that I am endorsing all these conclusions. I have neither the learning nor the ability for their adequate appreciation, and I am far from admitting that the supernatural is necessarily the impossible. My object will be attained if I can convey to those who have not access to the original, some notion of the views of a student who appears to avoid many of the faults of his predecessors, and to treat a subject of great and general interest with a considerable amount of research, originality, and general fairness.

Pointing out numerous passages wherein Jesus is represented as discouraging the notion of His Messiahship and as forbidding all announcements in that sense, our author contends that the opposite passages in which he seems to favour the notion must be regarded with suspicion. The writer of the book would not, he thinks, have introduced so many repetitions of the prohibition to tell any one that "He was the Christ," unless it had been notorious that no one had heard Him say so, and that the notion had only arisen when He was no more. Even in the supposed trial before the Sanhedrim (Mark XIV,) we are told that it was found impossible to obtain sufficient evidence on which to convict Jesus of having made this statement. That He then furnished



the requisite testimony out of His own mouth and was thereupon sentenced to death, our author does not consider historically true. We shall come to some further remarks on this presently. In the meantime we are called upon to note that if, after the death of Jesus, His followers concluded that He had been the expected Messiah, occasional declarations, both during His trial and during His antecedent ministry, would appear to them proper and would find place in their literature. Add that, in the oldest record, Jesus is never represented as calling God "His Father," while for Himself the expression used is "the Son of Man."

As to the second point, the method of His condemnation and execution, M. Havet asks how it can be supposed that the Sanhedrim of the Jews, after condemning Jesus in their own tribunal, should have been under the necessity of going to the Roman tribunal to obtain what we should now call "the death-warrant." There is no reason to suppose that they had not the power to carry out their own sentences; they did so, shortly after the death of Jesus, in the case of the Proto-martyr Stephen; they did so, many years later, in the case of S. James. It is true that on this latter occasion they were reproved by the Roman Government; but it was not for sentencing or for executing their sentence; it was for bringing James to trial without authority. The authorisation of the Government was required for the conveying of the Jewish Court; but when once it was convened, its powers had no limit and required no confirmation. An appeal there was, for a Roman citizen, as we see in the instance of S. Paul; but Jesus was not a Roman citizen, and He made no attempt to appeal. Lastly, no reality appears to attach to the pretended accusation of blasphemy.

What we must suppose, therefore, is that the Sadducean section of the Jewish hierarchy, alarmed by the popular manifestation that had attended the entry of the Galilean Rabbi into Jerusalem, and anxious, perhaps, for reasons of their own, to disembarass themselves of His presence, made use of the official susceptibilities of Pilate to denounce Him as a seditious demagogue; and that, on this denunciation, Pilate himself sentenced Him to the painful and degrading punishment which the Romans reserved for slaves and outcasts. This is confirmed, not only by the well-known record of Tacitus, but even by an apparently authentic tradition preserved in the fourth Gospel. The words of Tacitus are:—"He from whom they (the Christians) were named, Christus, underwent the last penalty in the reign of Tiberius, by order of P. Pilatus, the procurator." In the "gospel according to John" we are further told that the Jewish rulers said, "If we let this man go on, the people will believe in Him, and the

Romans will come and destroy the temple and the nation.....And Caiaphas said, It is expedient that one man die instead of the people, and that the people do not perish." This is in accordance with the stern fanatic patriotism of the Jewish nation, but by no means requires us to believe that Jesus was the inaugurator of a new dispensation, who threw down the gauntlet to the Church of His time, and was delivered to the secular arm as a blameless blasphemer. To think so is to contradict His own words:—"I came not to destroy the Law but to fulfil." And, lastly, we are called upon to observe how this conclusion tallies with and explains the singular silence, upon the subject of Jesus, of the contemporaneous Jewish historians, Justus and Josephus. Had Jesus been a sectary who attempted a religious revolution, and if the Jewish nation and their rulers had thereupon judged and condemned Him, the case would have formed an affair of too much importance to be entirely ignored by Jewish historians. If, on the contrary, He was merely a too ardent Israelite who first excited the people of Galilee, and finally the Holy City itself, so that the more cautious of His countrymen gave Him up to the police with a view to their own security, the circumstance might well have appeared to Jewish historians an embarrassing business about which it was more prudent to make no remark.

And this brings M. Havet to the third and last of his propositions. What is the evidence that Jesus was an opponent of Judaism who contemplated the admission of the world at large to the spiritual advantages arrogated as the special privilege of the chosen people? Certainly not, thinks our author, the prophetic denunciations of Mark XII. and Matthew XXIII. The sufferings of His followers there referred to were not undergone till the persecution under Hadrian in A.D. 62. The murder of Zacharias, the son of Barachias, took place later still, in the temple, during the siege under Titus, as we learn from Josephus. To represent Jesus as speaking of these future events as already past, is to attribute to Him an amount of prophetic insight which is opposed to M. Havet's notions of sound criticism. It is further, doing a great violence to grammar. This passage must have been written after the fall of Jerusalem, whatever we may think of the rest of the narrative.

But, even in a more general way, it is hard to believe, says M. Havet, that the sentiments found in these predictions and in such utterances as the parable of the vineyard, can be authentic monuments of the teaching of Jesus: for they are not capable of reconciliation with the rest of the record. Thus:—"Go not into the way of the Gentiles; and if ye come to a city of the Samaritans, enter ye not" (Matt. X. 5). They are also told that

they "shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come" (*i.d.* 23.). And in the Acts of the Apostles (XI, 19, 20), we find that, after the death of Stephen and consequent persecution, the dispersed members of the sect travelled about the Levant, "preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only: but some—who were natives of Cyprus and Cyrene—when they came to Antioch, preached the Lord Jesus to the Grecians." This (nearly ten years after the Crucifixion) is the first notice of any preaching to the Gentiles, if we except the isolated, and almost contemporaneous mission of Peter to the devout Centurion Cornelius, who may have been a proselyte, and who (with his associates) evidently constituted a special and controverted case. Nor was it, apparently, until the events commemorated in the Epistle to the Galatians that the erection of a distinct Gentile Church took place, through the courageous initiative of the new Apostle Paul, who had never known the Lord.\* The celebrated commission of Peter, upon which Catholicism so much rests, is given up as a simple anachronism; indeed, the Greek play upon words is enough to prove that the speech could not have been uttered by a teacher addressing his followers in Aramaic.

As to the attacks on the Pharisees which fill so large a place in some of the Gospels, M. Havet remarks that it is only in the fourth Gospel that we meet with any notice of a corresponding hostility on the part of the Pharisees against Jesus; while the most energetic of His followers, S. Paul, was not only a Pharisee, but claimed the doctrine of the immortality of the soul as a point in common between Pharisaism and the Gospel. Indeed, in one Gospel (Luke XIII. 31) the Pharisees are represented as taking active steps to save Jesus from the pursuit of Herod: while they are not once mentioned in Mark's account of the Passion as taking any part in the proceedings against Him. Again, in the Acts, we find Gamaliel, a chief doctor of the school, defending Peter before the Sanhedrim; and elsewhere (XV., 5) we come upon "certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed." It is, remarks M. Havet, difficult to reconcile such evidences of friendly relations with those which are elsewhere represented as existing between Jesus and the Pharisees. Further, in Josephus, we read that, when the persecution of the Christians of Jerusalem took place under Hanan, "they who were most strict in the observance of the Law blamed their execution." The fact that Hanan was the head of the Sadducees shows that the historian is speaking of the Pharisees; and if Jesus had been such a bitter opponent

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\* M. Renan shows reason for denunciation of S. Paul and his teaching in the message to the Church of (written in A.D. 69.) contains a Ephesus (*Antichrist*.)

of that school, it is hard to understand why they should have shown such favour to His followers. It seems more probable that the Evangelists, writing after the fall of Jerusalem, express a state of things which occurred at a later date, when embittered feelings had been created by the national misfortunes of the Jews, and when their most influential sect became hostile to that other sect whom they had learned to look on as apostates and deserters from the commonwealth of Israel.

Nevertheless, after this searching scrutiny (in which, as M. Havet himself allows, the very soul of Jesus seems to fade away), there still remains the strange and beautiful personality whose influence has been felt so far and deep. Jesus lived; He lived a life so powerful that it carried away "the multitude," those poor "lost sheep" that He loved so well, who followed Him in life and crowned Him in death, with the thorny crown of Messiahship. Could such a life have left no traces; could no true impression of it remain upon the writings consecrated to its record? Surely something of Him must lurk in the narratives; but how to seize it, and to say with Pilate, "Behold the Man," this is the task to which our author next addresses himself.

In the first place, says M. Havet, Jesus has inspiration, and this is the dominant feature of his spiritual physiognomy. This is clearly shown by His keen vision and His tones of authority and of command. He is obeyed and followed as one having some uncommon power and exercising some unusual influence. His very opponents admit this force, in attributing it to the help of Beelzebub. Faith, not knowledge, is the principle of his doctrine. Nothing is so evil in His eyes as to ignore inspiration when you meet it; all sins will be forgiven, but blasphemy against the holy spirit; He who causes the humble to make a false step will have reason for regretting that he was ever born: the relations of life so sacred for others are nothing to Him; those who hear His words, they are His mother and His brethren. Such, in other measures, was the spirit of Socrates, of Joan of Arc, of Blaise Pascal: a spirit of power in days of faith, but in an age of criticism like the present, apt to be misunderstood. Even in His own country the Prophet complained of not being honoured; and we are told that His own family sought to lay hands upon Him as if they thought Him insane (Mark III. 21.) But inspiration is not madness; and the power of Jesus endures from age to age.

In virtue of this inspiration the Great Teacher shrank from no disregard of conventionality. He did not think Himself bound by fasts or by rules for ablution; without disrespect for the Sabbath He claimed liberty regarding it; He used the same liberty in the choice of His company, so as to incur the reproaches of the stricter members of society (II, 17.) But He did this not as

approving sin, but only as covering sinners with the mantle of His great charity. The orthodox Jews asked Him for His authority, and demanded miraculous testimonials; but He rested his credentials on His general work, and said that no sign should be given them.

M. Havet goes on to cite expressions which show that this earnest character sometimes revealed itself in bitter and even harsh language: as when, thinking that Simon had shown too much worldliness, He rebuked him under the name of "Satan" (VII. 33.) Associating such traits as these with others more in conformity with Isaiah XLII. 2, M. Havet sees in the character of Jesus a Jewish ideal which excludes imperiousness and violence, but does not exclude a somewhat severe austerity. Even in those sweet passages of tenderness when the weak and infantile attract His love, the smile is shaded with a frown: when His disciples tried to keep away the children, he was "much displeased" (X. 14.)

M. Havet is of opinion that one of the most potent means by which Jesus swayed the crowd was an impulse towards a future which was full of menace for the privileged classes; and that this was in fact the ultimate cause of His apparent ruin. When He announced that the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand, He implied that the Kingdom of the Romans and of Herod was about to end. The first were then to be last, and the last first; whosoever would save his life should lose it; those who did not mortify themselves would be cast into everlasting pain. In all these sayings M. Havet finds traces of a disturbing dispensation for His contemporaries. So also in the preference of the poor, and in the denunciations of the rich—in which He is followed by His brother S. James, see especially James V. 1, *et. seq.* It is hard for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God; and Dives suffers eternal torment, apparently for the sole reason that he had been prosperous in this life. For Himself, as for His immediate followers, there was to be no property, no thought for worldly needs. After His death His society had all things in common.

The next peculiarity noted is the tendency to teach in parables; a tendency exhibited also by the Indian reformer Sakya Muni, and by Jewish Doctors in the Talmud and elsewhere. The mingled prudence and courage of His answers to embarrassing questions next receives notice; and we are bid to remark a certain suppleness of mind that—as afterwards to a minor degree with Joan of Arc—agreed so wonderfully with the exalted moods of inspiration.

Such, according to M. Havet, is a faint representation of the portrait of Jesus as painted by the oldest of the Evangelists. The remainder of his study is devoted to an attempt to sup-

plement its traces from the other Gospels. But, as he has begun by entirely discrediting the evidential and historical value of these documents, we may be excused for not detaining the reader with such details, which must be somewhat arbitrary, and are, in fact, of quite inferior interest.

To sum up: M. Havet concludes that Jesus is not to be regarded as a Christian, or even as the founder of Christianity; but rather as a sort of Ebionite Rabbi who, expecting the approaching end of the world and the restoration of the tribes of Israel and Judah, desired to prepare His hearers for those events. The Gentiles He called "dogs;" He took no interest in the Samaritans; He sought the salvation of none but "the lost sheep of the house of Israel;" He did not contemplate the boundless mission of Paul. What He has imparted to Christianity, however, is of real value; a spirit of pity, almost of pessimism, an acceptance of sorrow in this life to be redressed abundantly in a world to come; a tenderness for the meek and lowly, partly the result of the misery of the time, but in a great measure the impress of His own lofty, yet loving, soul. He is purely a Jew, and there is no genuine word or deed of His that is not Jewish. But He is a Jew of Galilee rather than of Jerusalem, following inspiration rather than authority, formed by Nature rather than by the schools, born to compromise His country and Himself, but also to disturb and regenerate a wicked world.

If we seek further to know what has been His exact share in the production of modern society, we must have recourse to some other guides who have gone further than M. Havet has yet gone. Among these is Professor Burnouf of Athens; who contributed a dozen years ago a series of remarkable articles to the *Revue des deux Mondes* which have been since reproduced as a book under the title of *Science de la Religion*.

Professor Burnouf, with much learning and ingenuity, is not always a safe instructor. For instance, he clings to the theory, now generally abandoned, that S. Matthew's is the oldest of the Gospel narratives. He is also wrong—at least if M. Havet be right—in thinking that Jesus had an esoteric doctrine which was hostile to Judaism, for preaching which he was persecuted and sentenced to death by the Jews. But he is right in holding that Christianity was founded by S. Paul, and that it had to include a non-Jewish and wholly foreign element before it could assume the character of a universal creed.

Jesus and his immediate school were (according to M. Havet) Nazarene Ebionites; forming a Jewish sect which would perhaps have been absorbed if left to itself. The first "Christians," in the true sense of the word, were Hellenic and even Gentiles, the Church of Antioch and of Asia Minor rather than of

Palestine. The progress of the new school is seen in the Pauline Epistles (including that to the Hebrews, though this is not by Paul) and in the Gospel according to S. John. The element of Docetism, towards which there was some leaning, being eliminated, that of the divinity of Jesus remained as a distinctive feature of this school. In all things it presents a complete contrast to the teaching of the Church of Jerusalem as seen in the Epistle of S. James. This, which is probably the earliest book of the New Testament, is full of moral precepts and of the peculiar views of Jesus, but it makes no reference to His Messiahship, or to any controversy with the Jews : —

Professor Burnouf says much that is of peculiar interest for Indian readers. In the foreign element introduced by the school of Paul he recognises an influence of Vedism and of Buddhism, derived from India through Babylon and Alexandria. Much of his speculation is fanciful ; but the following points may be accepted as suggestive and important, if not absolutely new or true.

1. That the doctrine of the immortality of the human soul was no part of the original Jewish scheme of belief. Whatever remote references to such a doctrine may be thought to be traceable in scattered passages of the Old Testament, it is certain that it was not so clearly taught as to be recognised as a cardinal truth by the most educated and influential of the nation, *viz.* the Sadducees. It is probable that, as a point of popular belief, it came into Palestine with the return from the captivity. The resurrection of martyrs is taught for the first time, as a distinct tenet, in the books of the Maccabees.

2.—That the modern Christian doctrine of the Trinity is not clearly laid down in the New Testament ; and that it may have been partially suggested by later intercourse with India, of which we have hints in the story of the monk Barlaam. In purely Jewish writings, even of the Alexandrian school, there is no allusion to a Trinity. By careful examination of such books as *Ecclesiasticus*, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, the *Book of Enoch*, and the writings of Philo, we learn that before the birth of Christianity, there had been in the Jewish mind the idea of a mediator between God and man. But this idea contemplated at the utmost two *hypostases* or presentations of deity. The author of the Gospel according to S. John develops it by saying that the Word was made flesh and dwelt among (or in) us ; and apparently meant to say that this took place in the person of Jesus. But this was not the teaching of Jesus himself, or even of His immediate followers ; it was the teaching of an anonymous polemic in the middle of the second century. The idea of a Trinity, moreover, does not follow from that of the incarnate Word ; it is rather the

idea of a universal, perhaps of an immanent, Power with three faces or manifestations.

Why three? The follower of the Roman, or of the Greek Church may say that this was the latent doctrine developed by the Fathers from Scripture and Tradition under the direct prompting of inspiration. But the historical inquirer finds that the number three was chosen long before. In Puranic Hinduism we find a view of Deity quite opposed to that prevalent among Semitic races, to the conception of a transcendent monarch, such as the Jehovah of the Jews, or the Allah of the Arabs. With the Hindus the Deity is a power (of the neuter gender) immanent in Nature, but revealed to man in three forms or "persons." Going higher up the stream of Aryan thought, we find the pantheistic reform of Sakya Muni, erroneously represented as Atheism. The scheme which Buddhism attempted to reform was no less Trinitarian than that by which Buddhism was followed. In the Vedic hymns—some of which are perhaps of older origin than the invasion of India and the dispersion of the Aryan races—there are still three personifications of the Deity. These are:—first, the sun, the centre and source of terrestrial life; second Agni, the sacrificial fire; and third, the Vayu or firmamental air, by whose instrumentality Agni lives and returns to his Heavenly Father, bearing the offerings of man.

It is here that, according to Burnouf, we have to seek the explanation of the doctrine of the three persons of the one God. If this be true, Pantheism rather than pure Monotheism, will be the true Aryan doctrine, and Christianity will be on a false path as long as it continues to cling to the Semitic view of the Deity as a magnified monarch whose throne is heaven, and earth His footstool. And—what is of most interest for Indian readers—the Aryan conception is not only the most philosophical and best suited to the universal wants of progressive humanity, but it is the most specially suited to the special nature and necessities of men of the Aryan race, the peculiarly progressive branch of mankind.

To Strauss's question, "Are we Christians?" no certain reply can be given. So far as "Christian" may mean direct followers of Jesus, it is evident that modern criticism, as represented by the Havet school, must render a positive denial. We—French, English, and other Aryans of Europe and America—are in fact the descendants of the Roman and Barbarian Gentiles who adopted the doctrine of a Hellenic Pharisee (Saul of Tarsus) including such of the traditions of Jesus as Saul, after long controversy with the Church of Jerusalem, had seen fit to retain. Re-stated in these terms the system may be expected to spread among all Aryan populations, even if we despair of the general acceptance



by the people of India of this or that denomination of existing Christianity. Forms of this have long been presented to them without much success; at a time when its own followers are openly criticising it there must be less "hope than ever. On the other hand—if what may be called "Ebionism" be too Semitic for Indian minds—the grand ideas, of self-sacrifice in the interests of mankind and of self-purification in harmony with an orderly Universe, remain. The best minds in the European series, from S. Paul, down through Augustine and Luther, and even to our own day, have always found these things in what they have regarded as Christianity; and have recognised in their religion a discipline of character rather than a code of conduct. We do not turn our cheek to the smiter, or pay tribute to Cæsar; but we adopt what has been the vivifying principle of the religion of our predecessors in all times and places that have been favourable to social progress. And these are now being, for the first time, consciously and intelligently offered to the Indian communities alike by the various Missionary bodies and by the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Those who feel that they cannot go the whole length of modern criticism will perhaps still acknowledge that purity and beneficence are the heart and kernel of the teaching of Jesus, and are things that may be fairly expected to recommend themselves to good men everywhere. So may some day be fulfilled that victory of altruism over egotism which was foreshadowed by the traditions of the Nativity preserved by some of the Evangelists. Not vainly was it held that supernatural visitants had been with the shepherds on the Hills of Palestine and had heralded the approach of "Peace upon earth among men of holy intent."\*

Even, therefore, if we think that M. Havet is too sceptical, we may still allow that he has done good work. He has shown that the advent of Jesus is the great fact and feat of time; an epoch in the progress of Humanity, even when men reject the Semitic notion of God as a magnified Sultan. The moral effect, the ethical emotion, kindled and kept alive by the precepts and the example of the most unselfish of teachers, form a distinct and permanent acquisition. The more man maintains his claim to all that distinguishes him from the lower animals, the more must he acknowledge his dependence upon Him whose influence was inspiration and His special title, "The Son of Man."

H. G. KEENE

\* The *Revised Version* says, in the margin, "of good pleasure" which is phrased, as in the text, "in whom God is pleased."

not very intelligible, even when para-

ART. II.—THE LIFE OF COLIN CAMPBELL, LORD CLYDE :

*Illustrated by Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence.* By Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B. 2 vols. William Blackwood & Sons, 1881.

CONSIDERING the liberties which writers of fiction, particularly of the older school, have taken with the military character, the lives of eminent soldiers can hardly be too freely illustrated through the medium of sober and truthful biography. Modern systems have put an end to the old joke about the fool of the family being sent into the army ; though if this ever was the way of it, the so-called fool must often have turned out to be nothing of the kind. The great Duke's remark about Waterloo having been won on the playing fields at Eton was full of meaning. But this was partly because the training a lad gets, or used to get, in a good regiment was neither more nor less than the complement of his Harrow, Rugby, or Charter-house career. Indeed, some regiments have been so famous in this way, that boys from the most Ætlian parts of England or Scotland, educated by their sisters' governess, and "polished" by the village dominie, unless downright radicals, have only had to carry their Colours for a year or two, in order to catch insensibly the tone and *morale* of as high-minded a form of society as civilization has ever produced. The days of chivalry are said to be over. But this is only so far true ; and the professional soldiers who about once in every decade land at Portsmouth, to receive the meed of foreign service, though belonging to an order which came in only with standing armies and the revolution, yet fairly represent in most essential qualities those gallant gentlemen whose deeds are told by Froissart. The 'helmet barred' has been exchanged for softer head coverings ; the 'Queen of beauty' for an affectionate wife waiting on the pier till the transport is signalled ; and *demi-voltes*, and so forth (luckily for the crowd), for speeches at the mansion-house and papers in

magazines. But with all this, DUTY has merely taken the place of *devoir*; and there is still the same devotion of life and self to a common cause; the same simplicity of thought, speech and action; and the same subordination of the individual will in matters affecting the general interests. Not that all of England's great commanders, even of this nineteenth century, have given out just the same sound ring, when tested from this point of view. There must be exceptions to every rule; and allowance has to be made for differences of natural character and temper. Some may even not see much in common between, let it be said, Wellington and Charles Napier, or Havelock and Outram. But in these and other similar instances that could be cited, a deeper survey will, it is believed, bring out, not only that the features of family resemblance were strong, but that they have often depended for their development on the common pursuit of objects as high as those of the best days of chivalry. Any one who doubts this should read the life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde, just given to the world by his comrade General Shadwell; after a delay of seventeen years' due, as we are told in the preface, to the reluctance expressed by the subject of it towards the end of his career that any thing should be published about him. When it came to the battles on which his prowess as a leader depended, Eton may have done as much for Lord Clyde as for England's greatest soldier. We do not doubt it. But as for the fighting of life's battle by the man himself, English public schools had nothing to do with that. The father of the future Field-marshal, though a gentleman by birth, followed the humble calling of a carpenter; and on 20th October 1792, his son Colin—the family name was Macliver—was born an obscure Glasgow boy. Instances of a similar kind, in which good material has made its first appearance in squalid conditions, were common then in Scotland; partly from the readiness with which younger sons, and cadets of good houses, not relishing the rôle of 'Jock the laird's brother,' entered, like sensible men, into trade; and partly from so many of the best families having staked and lost their lands, and everything but honour, on the perverse fortunes of the Stuarts. Hugh Miller, in one of his books, mentions a "really handsome man, "grey-haired, silvery-whiskered, with an aristocratic cast of "countenance," by name John Lindsay, who was once his fellow-workman, and between whom and the Crawford peerage there was but the 'missing link' of a lost marriage certificate. The lot of a mason's labourer had therefore to content his lordship; and, his story being no secret, the call, says Miller, was

to be heard resounding from the walls twenty times a day  
*"John, Pearl Craford, bring us anither hod o' lime!"*

The Macliver case was neither so distressing nor so peculiar ; the paternal grandfather of the future peninsular hero and pacifier of India having forfeited an estate in Argyleshire, and been fain to burrow in the Gorbals of Glasgow, after Culloden. On the maternal side\* also, the little Macliver came of 'kenned folk'. His mother, Agnes Campbell, belonged to a family of standing in Islay. And when, long years afterwards, it fell to the lot of General Sir Patrick Grant to write and congratulate Sir Colin on his elevation to the peerage, the fine veteran, who, we are glad to think, still wears his uniform,

*"and showg how fields were won,"*

was able, with national pride, "to thank God that you are not "only a Scotchman but a Highlander ; and that I am through my "mother, of the old Duntroon family, half your clansman." All this will be edifying to students of 'heredity.' If the boy had been by race what Rob Roy was pleased to call a 'more mechanical person,' and if the maternal uncle, a certain Colonel John Campbell, who obtained for him, at fifteen and a half, his commission, had been a prosperous weaver, instead of, as may be presumed, only a half-pay officer, little Colin might have grown into a Glasgow magistrate. But the world would have lost this record of a life of frugality, self-denial, and exertion, the lesson of which could never have been better timed than in this age of luxury ; when the nation seems almost to be losing its manhood, in the general plethora of system induced by excessive pleasure-seeking and money-grubbing. Honours and even riches came to the young soldier, it is true, in time. The former but stamped, not made, the man ; being unsought, and causing, it is evident, a good deal of embarrassment to him. The money, again, he valued partly, as he always said, for the 'glorious privilege of being independent,' but chiefly because it enabled him to provide for his father and sister. The youth had nothing but his sword and the blessing of God to depend on. Like St. Paul and others of the true heroic type, he had a hatred of debt ; and although not always able to escape it, pinched himself rather than submit to it. A struggle as his life thus often was, his care for others never abated. At every stage in his career, the more or less dependent, father and sister filled his thoughts ; and the dutiful manner in which out of his scanty means he ministered to them shows what a leal heart here beat under a buttoned-up, and latterly rather grim, exterior. In this we are anticipating. But

it is not amiss that the reader should perceive at once the kind of kernel residing in the centre of all the hard military qualities with which his biographer has chiefly had to deal.

It was his mother's brother, John, as has been seen, who carried young Macliver to the Horse Guards, and obtained a commission for him; after the lad had 'buckled in,' principally at the High School of Glasgow, such education as Scotch pedagogues of the old stamp could impart. When the uncle was presenting the young candidate for a red coat to H. R. H. the Duke of York, this was what took place:

"The Duke, supposing the boy, as he remarked, to be 'another of the clan,' entered him, as Colin Campbell, and from that day he assumed his mother's name. This is the explanation of a change which has puzzled many; and has given rise to various surmises. Upon leaving the Duke's presence with his uncle, it is said, that he made some remark upon the subject; which was met by telling him that Campbell was a name which it would suit him, or professional reasons, to adopt."

We would gladly have heard more about this uncle John. Our army of those days was, with all its virtues, full of social prejudices. "Macliver, I don't recollect ever hearing the name before," was a remark which, with the ear of imagination, the canny Scot probably heard made from time to time in connexion with his kinsman by old gentlemen at the Horse Guards, and old ladies elsewhere, on whom his professional or other prospects might come to depend. The name of a man's mother is, after all, as much a part of him as his father's is. And since accident so determined it, there was no harm in Colin Macliver, on becoming an ensign in the 9th regiment—in which five weeks later he was promoted to a lieutenancy—adopting the patronymic of the great western clan. The times were stirring ones, and there was no wonder the wide-awake uncle thought his nephew had been conjugating verbs long enough. It was the middle of 1808. The exploits of Buonaparte had long been stirring the martial ardour of England to its depths, and exciting in the army a vehement desire to cope with him. Just then, the revolt of Spain and Portugal seemed to afford to England the opportunity foretold by Pitt after Austerlitz; and a force had been sent to the Peninsula, commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, to check the troubler of Europe. By the time young Campbell landed with his regiment, operations had begun; and the boy was under fire the very next day, at Vimiero: one of his experiences during which battle so well shews the relations then subsisting between captains of companies and their subalterns, that we are tempted to extract it:—

"It was at the commencement of this battle that a circumstance occurred to the young subaltern to which, in after-years, he was wont to

refer with the deepest feelings of gratitude. Colin Campbell was with the rear company of his battalion, which was halted in open column of companies. His captain, an officer of years and experience, called him to his side, took him by the hand, and leading him by the flank of the battalion, to its front, walked with him up and down the front of the leading company for several minutes, in full view of the enemy's artillery, which had begun to open fire on our troops, whilst covering his attack. He then let go the boy's hand—Colin was not yet sixteen—and told him to join his company. The object was to give the youngster confidence, and it succeeded. In after-years, though very reticent of his own services,—for Lord Clyde was essentially a modest man—he related the anecdote to the writer of this memoir, adding—"It was the greatest kindness that could have been shown me at such a time; and through life, I have felt grateful for it."

Sir John Moore's retreat on Coruna, pursued by the three armies of Napoleon, Soult, and Rey, formed Campbell's next taste of war. His personal experiences during this "terrible operation, conducted in midwinter," are thus presented to us:—

"To give some idea of the discomforts of the retreat, Lord Clyde used to relate how that, for sometime before reaching Coruna, he had to march with bare feet, the soles of his boots being completely worn away. He had no means of replacing them; and, when he got on boardship, he was unable to remove them, as from constant wear, and his inability to take them off, the leather had adhered so closely to the flesh of the legs, that he was obliged to steep them in water as hot as he could bear, and have the leather cut away in strips, a painful operation, as in the process, pieces of the skin were brought away with it."

Fifty years afterwards, when the stripling had grown into the veteran, and set himself, in India, among other tasks, to the recovery of Oudh, we wonder whether he recalled to mind the above hardships, on taking under his command, at Lucknow, the division of the chivalrous Outram, and learning, if he ever learned it, that every man in Outram's force had been supplied a few months previously—the annual rainy season then being at its height—with a pair of new boots or shoes at Outram's expense. 'No foot, no horse' is a maxim as old as honest Gervaise Markham's 'Masterpiece of Farriery;' and the best military leaders have been the most careful to remember that the same thing holds true of soldiers. The disastrous victory of Coruna, in which, as will be remembered, Moore met a soldier's death, having served merely to cover his army's embarkation, Campbell soon found himself back in Canterbury; only to start afresh after a short rest, this time with the abortive Walcheren expedition; from which he brought back the seeds of malarious fever sown in his constitution among the marshy islands of the Scheldt.

These stuck to him for life, and caused him no little trouble. Ordered next to Gibraltar, the young subaltern had the good fortune shortly afterwards to find his first opportunity of showing what was in him, when during the battle of Barrosa the command of certain companies of his regiment devolved on him through all the other officers being wounded. After a spell of varied service with local armies, also for a wonder a whole year of quiet at Gibraltar, Campbell again became, in 1813, a soldier of Wellington's army, then at the crisis of its enterprise. At this stage his biographer begins to draw with the best effect on a journal kept by Campbell during some of the most important periods of his career. The style of this record we commend to all young officers. Free alike from exaggeration, discussion, and all trace of literary effort or imitation, it states, sentence after sentence, in the language of practical soldiership, just such facts as it forms the province of the professional eye-witness to commit at the time to paper. After fighting in the battle of Vittoria, in which the French army lost 143 pieces of cannon and nearly all its baggage, the next exploit in which Campbell was engaged was the siege of San Sebastian. In the attack on the convent and redoubt of San Bartolomeo with which this operation began, and in which the 9th regiment suffered heavily, Lieut. Campbell's "most conspicuous gallantry in leading on his men to overcome the variety of obstacles that were opposed to them," was brought to Wellington's notice by Sir T. Graham, in his despatch, in the words which we have placed in inverted commas. When the great fortress was afterwards stormed, the young soldier's part was even more distinguished. He led the forlorn hope. A 'forlorn hope' it was, too; for the assault failed, and its leader received two severe wounds, while covering himself with fresh glory. This was in July. A month later, as readers of Napier will remember, a second and successful attack was made; but, Campbell being then in hospital, no mention of that occurs in his journal. Soon afterwards, his division marched, and he was left behind. This was too trying for him. Hearing of the likelihood of further fighting, he and another wounded officer, without a word to the doctors, made their way to the front, "by dint of crawling and an occasional lift from commissariat and other vehicles proceeding along the road," and were in action the following day; Campbell commanding the light and leading company, and receiving another wound, the effects of which he felt all his life. This brought his service in the peninsula to a close. On 9th November following, he was promoted without purchase to a company in

the 60th regiment, and returned about Christmas to England, carrying with him, besides his wounds, the reputation of "a most gallant and meritorious young officer." A happy day for the uncle when he received under his roof the youth who had done so well. A temporary wound pension of £100 a year was easily obtained; but his applications for further employment, though supported by some of the best names in the army, were not so immediately responded to. So much twaddle has been uttered at different times about officers of merit being "blighted," "by the cold shade of the aristocracy," and so forth, that General Shadwell has done well in showing how from the first Campbell was appreciated. Abuse of patronage may have disgraced the administration of the army, as of other departments. But there is much to be said on the opposite side also; and we would like to know where England might have been now, had not, for example, Arthur Wellesley's family connexions made him lieutenant-colonel at twenty-four, and colonel at twenty-six; thus giving him a lifetime, instead of only the remains of one, in which to serve his country in situations of importance. Against jobbery and injustice none more apt to protest than we are; but who will not concur in the view of Sir C. Napier, as quoted in General Shadwell's book, that "*it is useless for a man to have good soldiers under his orders, if he does not push to make them known.*" And really, when we see a minister, or a commander-in-chief, thinking only of himself, and hesitating to bring forward his friends in whom he has confidence, in preference to those of other people, for fear of what may be said about him, we are inclined to think but poorly of him. That all who knew Colin Campbell, and had the power to favour his advancement, left no stone unturned to do so, his biographer, as just stated, has fully shown; and if their exertions were not always successful that was merely due to the broad surface over which official favour has to be distributed.

Campbell had hardly joined the 60th in Nova Scotia, when the state of his health compelled him to return to England and afterwards visit the south of France, to try certain warm springs. Early in 1819, he joined the 21st Fusiliers, in the Barbadoes; where the next seven years were put in, greatly to his contentment, especially after he had been made aide-de-camp and brigade major to the governor and commander of the forces in Demarara. While in this situation, he contrived to purchase his majority in his regiment, in November 1825. How this was arranged is thus told: and the passage shows that the same moral courage which is required to keep a man out



of debt will also enable him to face, for a worthy object, a temporary obligation—

“To make up the sum which it was necessary for him to contribute towards the furtherance of this object, Colin Campbell was indebted to the spontaneous liberality of a friend in the colony; who assisted him with a loan of £600, in addition to which he borrowed a sum of £200 from his agents. Being without means, and having taken upon himself, since he had attained the rank of captain, the obligation of assisting his father with an annual payment of between £30 and £40, the incurring of such a heavy liability, to be still further increased by the expense of a field officer's outfit, may appear, at first sight, a rash proceeding, and not warranted by his circumstances. On the other hand, the promotion was of the greatest professional importance to him, and may be regarded as the turning-point of his career. There remained the alternative of seeing younger men, more favoured by fortune, pass over his head, or of throwing up the service, in disgust with the blankness of his prospects, to seek, as so many others similarly situated have done, an opening in some different line of life. Happily, Colin Campbell, actuated by an ardent love of his profession, and it may be prompted by the consciousness that he had that in him which he could turn to good account, should the opportunity offer, elected to brave the apparent imprudence of the step he was about to take; feeling quite at ease, so far as his kind benefactor was concerned, as to the liquidation of the loan which had been so considerably imposed upon him.”

The name of the ‘benefactor’, who thus stepped forward, is not given. Happily, there is a great deal of this kind of thing, always going on in the world; which, abuse it as we will, has an odd way of its own, if we will only let it, and not hamper it by too many rules and regulations, of helping the fittest to come to the front. In another passage it is mentioned that “pleasant society, prior to the abolition of slavery, was to be met with in our West Indian colonies” Dandie Diumont's offer to Brown to ‘buy him up a step’ may form, for aught we know, a parallel case. And without harking back at this date to the negro-emanicipation question, we may be permitted to say that if, in the palmy days of sugar plantations, every proprietor of a ‘thriving concern’ was subject to impulses of this kind, on seeing a soldier like Colin Campbell held down for want of a few hundreds, it was so much the better for Her Majesty's service. The purchase-system, after all, was a mixture of good and evil, and it is not yet fully proved that, in getting rid of its disadvantages by abolishing it, we have found a substitute for it which will secure to us its advantages. This promotion necessitating relinquishment of his staff appointment, Campbell returned to England; where, after a spell of regimental service, enlivened by much pleasant social intercourse, he was enabled, “through the kindness of a relation on the mother's side,” to lodge the sum necessary (£1,300) for the purchase of an unattached lieutenant-

coloneley. This put him on the half-pay list ; after " nearly twenty-five years on full-pay, *viz.*, upwards of five years as a subaltern, " nearly thirteen as captain, and seven as major." The next three years he spent partly in study ; partly in visits to places, such as Antwerp, where interesting military operations were going on ; and partly in striving to obtain employment. In the latter pursuit he received from the heads of his profession, from Lord Hill downward, such marks of their desire to serve him as kept him always hopeful ; but it was not till 1835 that he was able to write in his journal that he had been gazetted to the lieutenant-coloneley " of the gallant and good old 9th " regiment," in which he had been brought up. This piece of luck, as the very next entry records, he signalled by buying " several good books, such, as Napier and Jones, for his barrack-room." In the end, the 98th, not the 9th, regiment was the one given to him ; but although this was a disappointment, yet it mattered little, so long as the summit of his ambition—a regimental command—was reached. The period now arrived at in Campbell's life is one of the most important and instructive in it all. To do justice to the way in which, as lieutenant-colonel of the 98th regiment, he put in practice the principles in which he had been trained in the 9th, and which, as is pointed out, formed part of the legacy of Sir John Moore to the army, would not be possible within the limits of an article. And yet the subject is so important, that whatever extracts may have to stand over the following must be given :—

" There was no secret in his (Moore's) method. The officers were instructed, and shared their duties with the soldiers ; and by the development of the company system under which the captains and subalterns were brought into intimate relations with the non-commissioned officers and privates, a knowledge of each other was obtained, and a feeling of confidence engendered between the several ranks which, far from producing familiarity, had the effect of creating an interest on the part of the officer in the soldier, and of calling forth a responsive and willing obedience from the latter who soon learned to look upon his officer as the protector of his interests, and his best friend. Crime was neither concealed nor magnified, every indulgence was extended to the steady and well-conducted soldier ; the youngster who might have heedlessly given way to temptation being gently chided and earnestly warned of the consequences of a persistence in irregular habits, whilst the habitual offender was duly visited with the just penalty of his misdeeds."

Here again is his biographer's description of how the above principles were applied by Campbell :—

" Stern in rebuke—for, with the temperament natural to his Highland blood, he was prone to anger when occasion stirred it—he was on the other hand, gentle, nay indulgent, towards all such as manifested anxiety in the performance of their duties. Nor did he make any difference between ranks. Setting himself an example of punctuality and strictness with

regard to his own duties, he exacted from his officers a like discharge of theirs in all that concerned the instruction, well-being, and conduct of the subordinate ranks. Though no doubt there were occasions on which, from an excess of zeal, he was apt somewhat to overstrain the machinery of which he was the moving principle, yet he succeeded in establishing and maintaining such feeling and *esprit de corps* in all ranks, as made both officers and soldiers happy and proud of serving under his command. \* \* \*

Frugal in his habits by nature and the force of circumstances, he laid great stress on the observance of economy in the officers' mess; believing that a well-ordered establishment of this kind is the best index of a good regiment. For this reason he determined not to sanction the use of any wine but port and sherry; the introduction of other wines, he viewed as extravagance, and he set himself against any expenditure which he considered incommensurate with the means of his officers. Regarding the mess as one of the principal levers of discipline, Colin Campbell made a rule of attending it, even when the frequent return of his fever and ague rendered late dinners a physical discomfort to him. Cramped in his means, he denied himself many little comforts, in order that he might have the where withal to return hospitality, and be able to set an example to his brother officers in the punctual discharge of his mess liabilities. His intercourse with his officers off duty was unrestrained, and of the most friendly character. He sympathised with them in their occupations and sports; and though the instruction and discipline of the regiment were carried on with great strictness, the best feeling pervaded all ranks, so that everything was done in good humour."

In the passage last quoted, one of Campbell's weak points is adverted to. Natural habit, and the effects of wounds and climate on his nervous system, rendered him irritable and over-anxious. He belonged to the *ore rotundo* period of our army; and it was said of him in the Barbadoes, though this is not mentioned by his biographer, that when the fit was on him, and he fairly warmed to it, the temperature of his tent would go up a degree or two all round him. Now we are no advocates for perpetual smoothfacedness. Soldiers have no occasion to pose like Talleyrands or Jesuits, and look at a man affectionately all the time they are longing to knock him down. On the contrary, all our readers, both civil and military, are hereby advised to blow off the steam directly, when necessary, instead of bleeding internally, or making themselves disagreeable to their families for days together, owing to suppressed rage. But that is different from being irritable, and prone to anger. A soldier or other person who is constantly flying into a passion is as bad as a gun that is always letting itself off; and we therefore hope and believe that the younger officers of Her Majesty's army will, while acquiring as many as possible of the virtues of their seniors, cultivate a certain laudable degree of command over their tempers.

About a couple of years after becoming lieutenant-colonel of the 98th, Colin Campbell passed under the command of Sir Charles Napier. In externals, the two were about as dissimilar as

a solemn old Scotch terrier of the fighting sort and a macaw. In essentials, they were "*par nobile fratrū*;" and confidence soon sprang up between them. Those were the days of Chartist excitement, notably round Nottingham, the headquarters of Napier's command. Campbell's regiment lay at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Naturally, the magistrates and owners of collieries were disposed to hold on tight to the soldiers, and 'call out the military' if so much as a little street-boy was seen standing on his head. Campbell's cue again was precisely the opposite, namely, by all means to stave off collisions between Her Majesty's troops and their misguided fellow-subjects. In this policy he was warmly supported by Napier; who, at no time famed for admiration of the 'civil power,' except when it chanced to be represented by himself, as in Sindh, fumed at being what he called 'dry nurse to special constables!' In the end all turned out well. Campbell's forecasts generally proved as sound as the steps taken by him for the maintenance of order were successful. No serious *emeute* ever occurred at or near his headquarters. The Home Office thanked him for his 'valuable services;' and the Newcastle authorities, the days of panic over, sent him complimentary resolutions in acknowledgment of the support they had received from him. The gallant 98th was not left to itself all this time. Though more or less 'chopped up,' as Napier expressed it, into detachments, its perfect state of discipline and handiness in the field brought enthusiasts in drill from far and near to admire it; and the outing the battalion had, and all that it went through, on a certain occasion of Napier's coming down to present a new pair of colours to it, must have been remembered by both officers and men for some considerable time afterwards.

With 1842 there came both for the 98th and its lieutenant-colonel a decided turn of the wheel, namely, from Dublin to Hong-Kong, where they received orders to join Sir Hugh Gough's force in the north of China. Heat, cholera, fever, dysentery,

"All the infections that the sun sucks up  
From bogs, fens, flats,"

smote the unfortunate regiment on the way up the Yang-tsi-Kiang. Campbell himself was struck down by the sun; and fifty-three soldiers died before the expedition had lasted a month. Luckily the Chinese soon gave in; and before anything decisive was done peace was made. So far as the health of the regiment was concerned, its return to Hong-Kong only made matters worse. In writing to his sister, in December, its lieutenant-colonel had to record, with what feelings may be imagined, that he had lost

by death 283 of his soldiers, and that, out of 231 then on the sick report, some 50 or 60 would die. Such too often is war, particularly when European armies are employed in Asiatic countries; and the figures just quoted deserve to be attentively considered by all who think that the army is strong enough at the present day for our requirements. While at Hong-Kong, Colin Campbell heard of his nomination to be a Companion of the Bath, and an aide-de-camp to the Queen. In 1844, he was appointed to command the garrison of Chusan; and, finding, on his arrival there, a comparatively favourable climate, contrived to have his regiment sent to be under his own eye. Improvement in its condition followed; and, busy with his soldiers, the brigadier, who was intrusted also with the civil administration of Chusan—an island about the size of the Isle of Wight—was content, says his biographer, ‘to leave the inhabitants as much as possible to themselves.’ Happy inhabitants! Protected without being ‘improved,’ ruled without having new taxes imposed on them, no wonder, when Chusan was restored to the Chinese, and Campbell and his regiment were sent to Calcutta, in 1846, they presented him with an address expressive of their gratitude.

On 24th October 1846, just four days after crossing the threshold of his fifty-fifth year, Colin Campbell looked for the first time on that wonder of the world, the source at once of so much strength and weakness to England, our Indian empire. All that he thought it necessary to note in his journal on the occasion would appear to be contained in the following entry, made, in Spanish, during his passage up the Bay of Bengal:—

“I thank God most sincerely and devoutly for the favour He has been pleased to extend to me; and for enabling me to render assistance to those who had a right to expect it from me when I had the means of affording them aid.”

Events had been marching with rare rapidity about that time in India. Sir Charles Napier, released from his task of taking care of the Nottingham stocking-weavers, had seized, after his own masterful methods, and was then engaged in governing Sindh. The first Sikh war had terminated at Sobraon, after the *Khalsa* army had been defeated in four battles, fought within the space of sixty days. But the treaty afterwards concluded with the humiliated and disorganised government of Lahore was by many regarded more as an experiment made with the object of staving off the necessity for annexation than as a sound and stable settlement of affairs. No wonder, then, a Governor-General like Lord Hardinge welcomed Campbell cordially, and wrote to him, through his military secretary, “a very flattering letter,” holding out hopes of his being appointed to command a

brigade on the Punjab border. "Objection," it is stated, was afterwards made to this, chiefly, owing to "his want of knowledge of the "language." In Colin Campbell's case, such an argument was absurd; and can only have been used by some very antiquated and obstructive adviser. At the same time, Bacon's maxim "*He that travaileth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travaile*" is doubly applicable to those having not merely to travel, but conduct military operations, in the country concerned. In the peninsula Campbell had acquired French and Spanish. Had he served before in India, he would no doubt have qualified himself for the interpretership of his regiment. And if every young soldier will make up his mind to do the same when he goes to India, Her Majesty's service, to say nothing of himself, will be very much the better for it. The examiners' text-books may not be as entertaining reading as Whyte Melville's novels or "Baily's Magazine." But they are better than eternal ennui, or unvarying rounds of shooting, polo, and billiards; though, by the way, nothing equals *shikar* for turning men into practical linguists, and teaching them to find their way about, and work an intelligence department successfully, when in command of field forces or detachments. Even the books gradually become less and less tedious; for, however vapid Indian vernacular literature may be, acquaintance with it increases that degree of sympathy with the people which is often all that is wanted to make life in India, as in other countries, not only tolerable but enjoyable. A year's foreign service, when nothing particular is on foot, may easily be frittered away without a mark being left on a man's career, or even in his mind, in connection with it; and the acquisition during it of a language would at all events serve to prevent that. All this, however, is a digression, suggested by the narrow escape which even Colin Campbell had, after landing at Calcutta, of being virtually shelved, because of not having "passed in the languages." Happily in his instance the Governor-General was able to overcome the scruples of the venerable stickler for local traditions; and Campbell was sent, as brigadier, to command at Lahore, where the Political Resident, Henry Lawrence, was then trying hard, to keep the bottled-up genii of the Sikh *darbar* and army from breaking out again. Between the Resident and the brigadier a warm friendship soon sprung up, for in many ways the two men were kindred spirits. With Sir Charles Napier also Campbell resumed his correspondence; and it is amusing to note how, in letters passing between Lahore and Kurrachee, these two veterans of the stern old school shook their grey heads

confidingly at one another, over 'the great radical reforms' which, in common with all the best local officers, they considered the Indian army to stand in need of, not so much in drill, for the Bengal sepoy always showed well on parade, as in the "system of discipline." In 1848, by which time Lord Dalhousie had become Governor-General, the revolt of Moolraj, and other events happening at Mooltan, brought on the second Sikh war; in which, after a good deal of hope deferred, and several downright disappointments, Campbell was destined to bear a distinguished part. Keeping always strictly within his own lines, he seems to have made it his maxim to leave political affairs to those whose duty they formed. Luckily he kept up his journal, not only while watching from Lahore the current of events, and putting everything within his own command in a state of perfect military preparation, but subsequently also in the field. On this journal, and on his letters, his biographer has as usual drawn largely; and, our limits warning us, we must refer the reader to General Shadwell's pages, if he would follow Campbell's movements fully at the period now arrived at. The chief merit of the operations referred to lay, it must be admitted, in their result. Providence and the British soldier between them pulled, as usual, both generals and politicals tolerably well through several fiascos, and victories that were not altogether victories. These were subjects which Colin Campbell rarely if ever discussed. At Ramnagar only, where two of the stoutest soldiers in the army, Cureton and William Havelock, died like gallant gentlemen in an unfortunate skirmish, does he seem to have departed from his rôle of silent action; his journal showing that, on seeing 'useless duels' between our own and the Sikh cavalry about to take place, he pointed out to the Adjutant-General the 'disadvantage and evil' of such isolated fights; and urged him to speak to the Commander-in-Chief about it. Nothing could be better than the description in his journal of what 'old Nol' might well have called 'the crowning mercy' of Chillianwala. In this Campbell received a deep sword-cut in the right arm, from an artillery man sticking to the last, like a true Sikh, to his gun, who, before drawing his sword, had first fired at the Brigadier-general with his matchlock, the ball discharged from which would have done for him, had it not providentially flattened itself against a small double-barreled pistol which his aide-de-camp had on the morning of the action jokingly placed in the "right lower pocket of a waistcoat worked for him years before by a fair Northumbrian friend." The experiences of Chillianwala, and the criticisms which one or two features in the conduct of the battle gave rise to, though not affecting

Campbell's own reputation, had probably something to do with the strong reliance on artillery fire that ever afterwards characterised him. Little as he may have said about the mistakes of others, he was not one to fail to profit by them. The hard-fought Chillianwala having been followed by the fall of Mooltan, and by the discomfiture of the Sikh army, and the extinction of Sikh independency, at Gujrat, his share in which decisive battle is fully described in his journal, the old soldier found an interval of comparative rest at Rawal Pindi; after first helping to chase Dost Mahomed Khan of Kabul and his Afghans back to the mouth of their infernal Khyber. While in command of the garrison at Pindi, he was promoted to be a Knight Commander of the Bath; his title to the epithet of the 'war-bred Sir Colin' so happily bestowed on him by Sir Charles Napier thereby being perfected. With reference to this, what he wrote to his friend Hope Grant was:

"They have made me a K. C. B. I may confess to you, I would much rather have got a year's batta, because the latter would enable me to leave this country a year sooner, and to join some friends of my early days, whom I love very much, and in whose society I would like to spend the period which may yet remain to me between the camp and the grave."

"The day I leave this country will terminate my military career."

Records like the foregoing, when introduced into a man's biography, serve to give a fleshlike colouring to the picture; and in the case of those who have risen to the very highest forms of greatness, perhaps even the proverbial valet's point of view may deserve to be presented, when their histories are being written. But the advantage may be doubted of in ordinary cases thus preserving views or impressions that have been recorded during, so to speak, one of those little periods of congestion or obstruction, stopping far short of actual disease, but still abnormal, to which the thinking faculties, equally with the corporeal organs, cannot but be considered to be liable. Few ever had a sounder sense than Campbell of the over-rulings of divine providence; and if he could have foreseen at this period all that was before him in the Crimea and India, not all the 'endless official letter-writing' which at times oppressed him, nor even the buffetings of his old enemy fever and ague, would have made him give way to home-sickness, or wish to put off his harness too early in the day. More active work was what he really needed, to make him shake off his morbid feelings; and this he presently obtained, on being sent to command the Peshawar district. No more steering clear of political anxieties for him now; for our 'frontier policy' was then at its very knottiest:



and difficult questions were constantly cropping up in connection with it. The Punjab, as some of our readers may remember, formed Lord Dalhousie's pet province. He managed it as he would have done a 'home-farm' in Scotland, and chanced to pay a visit to Peshawar soon after Sir Colin got there. One peculiarity of the situation, looked at from the brigadier-general's view-point, lay in the 'number of masters there were to serve. The Governor-General was of course supreme, both in military and political affairs. But there was also the Commander-in-Chief to be thought of; while, to increase the friction, the orders of the Punjab Board of Administration (every one knows what 'Boards' are), and even, in certain cases, the requisitions of its local representative, the Peshawar Commissioner, were expected to be given effect to. Immediately beyond the British border, there lay, then, as there lie now, tribes famous for their turbulence and love of independence; who, possessing but little corn-land, claim, as the natural yield or usufruct of their mountains, such black-mail or tribute as they can exact from others. Raiding on British territory was, and still is, the established method among these unfriendly neighbours of showing anger or hostility towards us. But then they often did the same thing purely to 'drive a prey;' and it was thus hard to say, when aggression had occurred, what might, or might not, be at the bottom of it. Sir Colin thought that the remedy lay, not so much in counter-raids and punishments, as in a regular system of frontier defence, equipped with fortified posts, roads, bridges, and other communications. Others were all for reprisals, for the burning of villages and the cutting down of crops. Between these two policies Lord Dalhousie's views seem at first to have a good deal oscillated; but, by degrees, as the tribes grew bolder, and the Calcutta press began to clamour for "strong measures," "dash," and so forth, expedition after expedition came to be sent out, generally under Campbell's leading. It was not only that he hated the thought of British troops being employed to destroy villages, "leaving women and young children to perish with cold in the depth of winter." Having regard to that only, there could have been no difference of sentiment among our officials, from the Governor-General downward. What Campbell, as a professional soldier, felt more forcibly, than some others, was the magnitude of the risks incurred, and the smallness of the results obtained, as often as Her Majesty's soldiers were employed in mountainous districts against hillmen, practised, like David, from their youth upwards, in independent fighting, and able to move with extraordinary secrecy and rapidity. "If your Lordship," he on one occasion wrote to Lord Dalhousie,

while out on a *razzia* of this kind, "were to take a sheet of "stiff writing-paper, and crumple it in your hands, the paper "in that form would convey a better idea of the broken and rugged "surface of this hilly country than any description I could give "you." To some extent his counsels prevailed; to some extent they were over-ruled; and General Shadwell's accounts of his several expeditions against the Mohannuds and others form so valuable a contribution to the science and art of mountain warfare, that the pity is the book could not have been in the hands of our generals during recent operations in Afghanistan. With all this, things failed to work smoothly. Lord Dalhousie, as is well known, added to many of the greatnesses, one or two of the failings of genius; and in process of time he arrived at the conclusion that the Peshawar General had once or twice shown an 'over-cautious reluctance' about chastising marauders. It was not to be expected that his lordship, after having so recently suffered India to lose the services of a soldier whose co-operation might have shed so much additional lustre on his own administration, and perhaps even averted the catastrophe of the great mutiny, namely, of course Sir Charles Napier, would tolerate what he regarded as antagonism in a subordinate military commander. Learning from Sir Charles' successor, the late amiable Sir W. Gomm, whose views coincided with his own, that the Governor-General was about to censure him, in connexion with a certain expedition that had proved only half an expedition into Swat, Sir Colin Campbell, on 3rd June 1852, resigned his command, and prepared to return to England. On the circumstances thus briefly indicated as having produced the above result, the only opinion here offered is that reasons bearing on the military defence of India having led to a soldier of rank being posted at Peshawar, it was perhaps too much to expect of him that, in order to adapt himself to the exigencies of an abnormal political situation, he should unlearn the lessons of a lifetime, and command two brigades of Her Majesty's or the Company's forces as an amateur soldier might do the levies of a rajah. For the rest, we could almost have wished that Sir Colin, instead of making the 'canny' exit he did, had waited till the Governor-General's censure had reached him, and then, standing on his dignity, resigned, since that was what he had made up his mind to do. This however is a matter of opinion. So far as the approval of his own profession went, he carried his bat with him, if ever any man did so, when he went out. The Commander-in-Chief explained it all very favourably to the Horse-Guards, Sir C. Napier wrote to him from England one of his characteristic letters, which General Shadwell, we rather think, has published for the first time; and which forms, with all its brevity and banter, a

sound commentary on military 'exploiting' in semi-barbarous countries. His resignation would have been marked, had his keen sense of subordination permitted, by an entertainment to which the officers of the Company's army at Peshawar invited him. By this time, too, Lord Dalhousie's humour had changed. 'The laird of Cockpen,' as Sir Charles Napier had dubbed him, was a thorough gentleman; and although formidable enough, as became him, when his Norman blood was up, and his lance in rest, not one of the order of

'Ever-angry bears',

once the fray was over. The Government despatch acknowledging the services of the troops employed in Swat reached Peshawar after Campbell had left it. In it there was an expression of the Governor-General's regret that "any incident should have occurred to censure (*sic*) any portion of Sir Colin Campbell's conduct;" also a handsome tribute to the "personal intrepidity and activity, and the sterling soldierly qualities, which this distinguished officer had displayed in the military command of the troops at Peshawar, upon every occasion upon which they had taken the field." And so the curtain fell on the first of Campbell's two several periods of service in India. In a few months' time he was back again on his old stint—half-pay; though now with a deposit of rupees to draw upon when necessary. Lord Hardinge was then Commander-in-Chief, and one of his first steps, on a force being ordered to the Levant, was to nominate Sir Colin for the command of one of its brigades. The Crimean expedition following suit, and the famous Highland brigade, containing the 42nd, 79th and 93rd Highlanders, falling to Campbell's lot, the autumn of 1854, saw him land at the head of it in the Crimea. Here unfortunately the journal was not kept up; and even private correspondence is understood to have flagged. Where letters from him have been forthcoming they have been quoted; where otherwise his biographer, though having been present as a member of his staff, has been well able to carry on the 'plain unvarnished tale.' It is noticeable that one or two of the romantic stories, arising chiefly out of Sir Colin's connexion with the Highland brigade, which excited so much interest at the time, have not found a place in the biography—a remark not applicable, we are glad to see, to the incident of the Highland bonnet; which is thus told by Sir Colin in a letter to his friend, Colonel Henry Eyre, descriptive of the passage of the Alma:—

\* \* \* "It (Alma) was a fight of the Highland brigade.

Lord Raglan came up afterwards and sent for me.

When I approached him I observed his eyes to fill, and his lips and countenance to quiver. He gave me a cordial shake of the hand, but he

could not speak. The men cheered very much. I told them I was going to ask the Commander-in-Chief a great favour—that he would permit me to have the honour of wearing the Highland bonnet during the rest of the campaign, which pleased them very much; and so ended my part in the fight of the 20th instant.

My men behaved nobly. I never saw troops march to battle with greater *sang froid* and order than those three Highland regiments. Their conduct was very much admired by all who witnessed their behaviour.

I write on the ground. I have neither stood to sit on nor bed to lie on. I have not had my clothes off since we landed on the 14th. I am in capital health, for which I have to be very thankful. Cholera is rife among us, and carrying off many fine fellows of all ranks."

Now there is much in the above passage which should be weighed by all who, would lightly throw away those outward signs so dear to soldiers with which *esprit de corps* is interwoven. The rage for innovation seems to require feeding, like a fire or a steam engine; and a venerable ecclesiastical establishment, or a great national policy, not being always within reach to be tampered with or pulled down, even so small a morsel as the badge of a Welsh or Highland regiment comes in useful as a *pis aller* serving to keep the ball in motion for the time being. But we should beware of making our little army less—for that is what it practically amounts to—through the ignoring of those feelings which Sir Colin turned to such good account in asking leave to wear the Highland bonnet while commanding the Highland brigade. We may think ourselves in all respects wiser than those who have gone before us; but it does not follow that we are so. After the excitement of the Alma, Campbell and his brigade settled down to what was to be their principal work during the great siege, namely, the defence of the town and harbour of Balaklava, the base of the English operations, and, in the opinion of Sir John Burgoyne, one of the three vulnerable points in the British position. Of the battles of Balaklava and Inkerman he was a spectator, rather than an actor in them; and even during the attacks on the Malakoff and the great Redan, the Highlanders were but slightly used. Their opportunity, as readers of Kinglake will remember, was to have been afforded to them in following up the first with a second attack on the Redan, had not the Russians in the interval saved all necessity for it by blowing up their magazines, and executing their memorable retreat from Sebastopol. At Balaklava the labour was heavy; the vigilance called for unceasing; and the anxiety trying. For officers and men it was like being for months at a time on picket. The 'system of regimental discipline' to which reference has been made above produced as excellent results as ever; and when it came to large fatigue parties having to be supplied daily for the improvement

of the defences, and for the carrying up of shot and shell, rations and hutting materials, from the ships, Sir Colin's soldiers, working under his own eye, and animated by officers whom they felt to be their comrades, distinguished themselves greatly. For details the reader is referred to General Shadwell's pages; with merely the remark that the length of time which has intervened has, in so far as these glimpses of Sir Colin personally are concerned, added to, rather than diminished, the freshness of the picture. When, after the fall of Sebastopol, but before the war was over, Campbell visited England on leave, he found himself, to his surprise, quite a considerable man; and the War Minister thought it necessary to write a laboured letter to him, which the honest old soldier rightly denominated 'flummery,' by way of reconciling him to the prospect of serving under a junior officer, Sir W. Codrington, on returning to the Crimea. With far different feelings did he receive a command from our beloved sovereign to pay his *devoirs* at Windsor; where, in the words of his biographer, the "gracious reception accorded to him by the Queen" and the Prince Consort struck a responsive chord in his heart," and kindling all his highland loyalty and devotion, made him, as he afterwards said, "willing to serve under a corporal," if such was his royal mistress' will and pleasure. Returning to the Crimea, he had hardly resumed his old terms of intimacy with his French and English comrades, when the conclusion of peace set him free altogether. At home fresh surprises awaited him; notably, a sword subscribed for by 6,000 persons, which his native Glasgow gave him, together with the freedom of the city. The *perfervidum ingenium* was thoroughly warmed; and thousands in the west of Scotland doubtless believed that not a soldier, save he and his highlanders had ever landed in the Crimea, or, if so, that none of them had had anything to do with the taking of Sebastopol! After holding various commands at home, Sir Colin reached the climax of his career when, on every mail bringing worse and worse accounts of the progress of mutiny in Bengal, he was ordered to India as Commander-in-Chief. Nothing could have been more unpromising than the aspect of affairs when he reached Calcutta on August 13th, 1857. The situation is described with tolerable accuracy in the volumes before us: and they who would realise more fully the nature of the task awaiting him, as well as how he performed it, cannot do better than supplement their reading of this portion of the biography by dipping freely into such works as Russell's 'Diary in India,' and the continuation by Colonel Malleon of Sir John Kaye's 'Sepoy War.' The way indeed in which military and political memoirs thus carry us into history forms one of the

special charms of this kind of biography ; and of recent books there are few to which this remark is more applicable than to the one before us. Bad as things looked in India at the period now referred to, with Delhi still imparting a sort of bastard political consistency to the revolt, our hold on Oudh restricted to the area of the Lucknow Residency only, the great native princes merely biding their time to strike in, and our prestige reeling under the effects of the Cawnpore catastrophe, one or two sound points were yet discoverable also. Thus the recently annexed Punjab had either shown no very deeply-seated disposition to rebel ; or the grasp of Sir John Lawrence had proved too strong for it if it had. Broken as our communications were, Havelock and his small but stubborn column had re-established order, at all events, on the grand trunk road, between the great advanced base of Allahabad and Cawnpore. Lord Canning, with all his gentleness and hatred of 'jingoism,' was strong with a kind of strength which, if not fully appreciated at the time, has won for him the admiration of a later generation. And, last and best of all, reinforcements of English soldiers and sailors were being poured into the country with a rapidity which should not be forgotten by those who incline to the opinion that England does not and need not greatly care whether she keeps or loses India. After spending a month and a half at his sea base, and, in concert with the Governor-General, organising measures for the reception and despatch of reinforcements, Sir Colin was at last able to transfer his head-quarters to Cawnpore ; narrowly escaping falling into the hands of a body of mutineers, as he passed up the grand trunk road. By that time, Delhi had been recovered. Havelock and Outram had effected their in some respects brilliant entry into Lucknow ; where however, with the garrison which they had reinforced, and perhaps saved from destruction, they were still shut up. But, although the tide had thus manifestly begun to turn, all India was still in a most critical condition ; and a false step, or an unwise delay, might easily have made matters worse than ever. Oudh, the home of the Bengal army, remained in its hands ; and there, if anywhere at all in India, the revolt had struck root among the hardy and martial races cultivating the soil. Owing in part to the proximity of Sindhia's mutinied Contingent, and in part to the large bodies of sepoys which were everywhere on the move, Campbell's new head-quarters had more the character of an outpost in an enemy's country, than of a town and station which had formed but six months previously a centre of English authority, and a famous seat of Indian industry. Only four

marches then separated him from Lucknow, where, according to the accounts received, the garrison was growing straitened for want of food. The wonder was, indeed, that their supplies had proved so copious. This was chiefly due to the admirable preparations made by Sir Henry Lawrence, before the siege began; but partly also to the rations of prime beef afforded by the gun bullocks of the Indian artillery. Moreover, in a country where nearly every European keeps, or kept, his farm-yard and store-rooms, the hoards existing in houses within the *enceinte* were considerable. These were in some cases reserved by their owners till relief was near, and then brought out; and this may easily have confirmed the impression, formed after the garrison had been extricated, that it might safely have been allowed to take care of itself while Cawnpore was being secured. The remark last made refers to the old controversy, which Campbell's biographer has wisely not revived, whether the General did right in advancing on Lucknow without first rendering his base and line of operations safe. At Lucknow there were at least 600 women and children, and a thousand sick and wounded; and this fact may even be held to place an operation designed for the succour of so many helpless people beyond the pale of military criticism altogether. That Campbell did not at once give way to the cry for relief coming from the Oudh capital is shown by his letters; but that, he fell into error as to the actual circumstances of the garrison is evident from his having written to his sister, just before setting out from Cawnpore, that "our friends in Lucknow" have food only for five or six days." Different views of the food question are doubtless apt to be taken. When Clive was holding Arcot, and feared being starved into surrender, his sepoy wished that all the grain should be given to their European comrades, and only the water in which it had been boiled served out to them. Thus also stout old Miles Bellenden had made up his mind not to give over Tillietudlem to the Covenanters, till his "auld boots" had been eaten up, soles included, by the garrison. That the defenders of Lucknow would have shown the same spirit, who can question? From all we have heard, too, of Indian Commissariat officers, we incline to the opinion that it would have taken five or six weeks, or possibly even months, to bring the sepoy of the Baillie-Guard to rice-water, or its European braves to the eating up of their old boots. Therefore, perhaps, it was a pity that Campbell did not follow the rules of his art, and deal decisively with all who were threatening his base, before crossing the Ganges into Oudh. He would then, as now seems probable, equally have effected his immediate and pressing object, the rescue of those

in the Residency. He would also have been spared the pain of hurriedly evacuating Lucknow, after having penetrated to the heart of it. And lastly, he would have averted what was within an ace of proving a terrible disaster, namely, the attack by the Gwalior Contingent and their allies on Cawnpore. As it was, his operations for the withdrawal of the garrison, were skilfully planned, and brilliantly executed. He had with him a powerful artillery, and used it effectively. Highlanders and Sikhs vied with one another in forwardness and devotion. The men of Oudh fought with stubborn gallantry. In defending the Secunder Bagh alone, at least 2,000 sepoys and matchlockmen died for the independence of their country. By the time communication with the garrison was established, our loss was 45 officers, and 496 men, killed and wounded. On one occasion, the Commander-in-Chief himself was wounded by a bullet, which had first passed through the body of a gunner. The garrison was withdrawn in masterly fashion. Some of them, we know, were shocked at the idea of the position for which they had fought so hard being thus abandoned. But all must have thanked God that a struggle unique in the national annals had ended in a manner reflecting unqualified glory on the national prowess.

After leaving Outram with a strong column to entrench himself outside Lucknow, and burying all that was mortal of Henry Havelock in the grounds of Alam Bagh, Campbell and his unwieldy convoy soon reached Cawnpore; where the attack developed by the Gwalior Contingent almost as soon as his back had been turned had by that time become formidable; General Windham, who had been left in command, having found himself unable to repel it. The first words addressed to the Commander-in-Chief, as he galloped across the bridge of boats into Cawnpore, were that the garrison "was at its last gasp." The officer who said so was, we feel sure, not rewarded by Sir Colin with a staff appointment. The truth certainly was that a crisis was then at its height; and that if, as might easily have occurred, Sir Colin had been detained for ever so short a time longer at Lucknow, events productive of the most sinister consequences might have befallen. As it was, he had only to hold his hand till the women and children for whom he had risked so much had reached a place of safety, and then strike fast and hard. How he did so is well narrated by General Shadwell. The enemy, flushed with success, disposed about 25,000 men, and forty pieces of cannon." In a few days Sir Colin and his generals scattered them; taking all their guns but one, at the cost of only 99 casualties. No doubt, the beaten foe was dispersed



rather than destroyed. Asiatics can die bravely when there is no help for it; but prefer, when victory seems beyond their reach, to save themselves for some more favourable opportunity. With all that, Campbell's operations at Cawnpore were decisive. Perhaps they even had the effect of giving to the troubles of the period the more or less localised character which they soon afterwards assumed. At all events it must by that time have been plain to India, that for the present no change of masters was to be feared or hoped for. It was now December 1857. Sir Colin Campbell was no longer a regimental commander, or a brigade leader only; but a general officer in high and independent command, having interests and responsibilities of exceptional importance intrusted to him. Strategy, not merely tactics, was what he had now chiefly to deal with—maps of India, not parade grounds. Whether he ever rose to the new level is an open question. His Chief of the Staff, afterwards Lord Sandhurst, was an accomplished man, rather than an accomplished soldier; and Campbell both loved him and leaned on him. That both should have been in favour of Oudh being allowed to lie seething in the possession of a powerful enemy till the autumn of 1858, seems at this distance of time scarcely credible. Yet so it was; and but for the quiet determination of the Governor-General on this point, the recapture of the city to which, after the fall of Delhi, the eyes of all Muhammadan India turned would have been postponed, in order that outlying districts, recoverable at any time by partisan soldiers at a few blows, might be dealt with *secundum artem*, on plans elaborated in the Commander-in-Chief's office. The correspondence which passed between Lord Canning and Sir Colin Campbell on the above topic is published almost *in extenso* in the biography. The moment the Governor-General's views were finally announced in regard to it, Campbell of course thought only of how to give effect to them; and, keeping his own counsel, as was his wont, began to make the most thorough dispositions for the reduction of Lucknow. After all, delay occurred. This time nothing was to be left to chance; and there were to be none of those rushes, in the face of overwhelming odds and difficulties, which marked the early days of the mutiny. General Havelock, in an order issued to his soldiers after one of his battles near Cawnpore, had well observed that, if the enemy could be beaten *then*, what would be the 'triumph and retribution' witnessed when the armies on their way to Calcutta should 'sweep through the land.' That time had now come. A force of 19,000 men, afterwards swelled by the Nepaulese auxiliaries to 31,000, with 164 guns, was about to move from its rendezvous. At the end of February the Commander-

in-Chief put himself at its head, proud of it certainly, but even prouder of a letter received by him just about that time from his sovereign congratulating him on his exploit of the previous November. Her Majesty's gracious communication, and the words in which Campbell acknowledged it, are among the most interesting of all the many interesting documents enriching General Shadwell's pages. The city against which these preparations were directed was one of the greatest and fairest in India. Washed by the winding Gumti, as Stirling is by the 'links of Forth,' filled with mosques, palaces and gardens, and warm as yet with the life of its then but recently lost independence, Lucknow was to the people of Oudh all that Paris is to Frenchmen. Its population was computed at 280,000; its more regular defenders at not less than 100,000, with 131 pieces of artillery. Outer walls were wanting; town and suburbs blending with country, and country carrying itself into town. Some of the buildings contained in it were formidable places, now that they had been turned into citadels. With a Todleben to defend it, Lucknow would have been hard to take. As it was, the sepoys had traversed both city and suburbs with earthen parapets resembling huge railway embankments, besides erecting redoubts and other works. Most of these were traced on the supposition that the attack would develop itself merely along the established lines of communication; the idea of their being taken *en enfildé*, and even in reverse, as Campbell took them, having apparently never entered any one's head. The principal resistance offered to the advance occurred in more or less isolated posts or buildings, such as no European engineer would ever have thought in such circumstances of trying to defend at all. In one of these (the Queen's palace) what the official despatch described as "the sternest struggle of the siege", took place; the enemy inflicting severe loss on the stormers; and leaving behind them 700 brave men. Clearing his way before him with artillery fire, and never advancing a step till the ground on which he stood was secured, Campbell seems quickly to have demoralised the defenders by the force of his attack. The investment of a city twenty miles in circumference had of course not been attempted; and the weak point in the operations was the facilities which were left to the enemy of beating a retreat, single or in masses, the moment he grew tired of fighting. At Lucknow, as elsewhere, 'combinations' do not seem always to have answered. Even the flank operations under Outram on the left bank of the Gumti, though well conceived and executed strictly according to order, did not prevent the sepoys from escaping; while another considerable movement, undertaken chiefly with that one object in view, proved from whatever causes,

unsuccessful. And yet the general result was brilliant. In twenty days, with the loss of only nineteen officers killed, and forty-eight wounded, the casualties among the common soldiers aggregating 735, at least 100,000 combatants were expelled from a vast city abounding in cover, and in strong positions both natural and artificial. It is only in the East—where he who dares the most (if not an absolute fool) wins the most—that feats of arms such as this are possible. No one can read General Shadwell's volumes without seeing what an excellent school India is for practical soldiery. During this siege of Lucknow alone many names, we notice, occur which have been heard of again subsequently. Napier, now Lord Napier of Magdala—then fast working his way by sheer weight of metal to the foremost rank—was chief engineer. Garnet Wolseley, then, a young captain, commanded, if we mistake not, a company of the ninetyeth regiment. At least six of the names appearing in recent gazettes of Afghan honours were more or less prominent also during this siege; *viz.*, Roberts, Macpherson, Hills, Macgregor and the Goughs; while of those who 'remained on the field,' or afterwards died of their wounds, there was at least one—William Peel of the 'Shannon'—whose services to his country, if he had been spared, would everyone knew have been great. And yet, with all this, we would do well to guard against believing that the same strategies, to say nothing of the same disproportions in numbers, which sometimes answer so well in Asia would carry us very far against organised and scientifically commanded forces.

Lucknow thus recovered, the Commander-in-Chief would have devoted himself, *more suo*, to the re-occupation of Oudh on the soundest military principles, and made what he termed a 'complete job' of that, before breaking fresh ground. The Governor-General on the other hand, could not afford to leave conterminous provinces rampant with rebellion till that was effected. Campbell of course acquiescing, and the wresting of Rohilcund from the enemy being resolved on, two forces, one of them under the personal direction of the Commander-in-Chief, were soon converging from different quarters on the chief town of the district, Bareilly. Notwithstanding this strategical combination, and a certain amount of hard fighting at Bareilly, the enemy in the end for the most part got away. In order to cut an Asiatic foe in two, and then chop up the pieces, especially under the broiling sun of May, Saladin's scimitar, rather than Cœur-de-lion's two-handed sword, is needed. Indeed, it stands to reason that regiments fresh from England, every soldier big with beef and beer, and bound up in broadcloth and leather, can rarely, except by chance, give a good account of fleeing horse

and foot, subsisting on parched peas and well-water, and innocent of all clothing, save turban and loin-cloth. Although our limits do not admit of our following Sir Colin, even in sketchiest fashion, through all his labours for the pacification of India, it must not be thought that those labours were over, whether as regards himself personally, or his lieutenants and their columns, when the successes just glanced at had been made good. It is not unlikely that the anxieties and exposure to which he and all under him were subjected while the fires kindled by, or with, the mutiny were going out, equalled those which had arisen while the blaze was at its height. By this time, Campbell and others had at all events the unqualified appreciation of their sovereign, and the unbounded admiration of their fellow subjects, to sustain them. Mail after mail took with it to India the clearest proofs of that. Sir Colin was raised to the peerage; and the most flattering encomiums on his services were recorded. As regards his peerage, what he said about it was that he had been "singled out for honour in a manner which had never entered his imagination;" that the "indomitable perseverance" of the British soldier was what had carried the nation through "a very ticklish crisis," and that he would have been very grateful to have been left without any other rank than his professional one. His title, as is usual in such cases, he himself selected; bethinking himself naturally, as others also did for him, of the noble river to which Scotland owes so much of her beauty, and his native Glasgow so much of her prosperity. Perhaps he had loved it all his life, as Scott did the Tweed, and often thought of it during nights of watching in the Peninsula, India, and the Crimea. In many respects his own course had been something like the river's—small beginnings, early struggles, chequered scenes, progress ever onward, and at last a splendid current; so that now when his career was full there was an appropriateness in his being called after it.

The military operations which Lord Clyde found himself obliged after all to set on foot and personally direct, during the winter of 1858, for the reduction of Oudh were diversified by the consideration of several topics of army administration referred to him from time to time by the Government of India. Some of these were important, such as the excitement which showed itself among the Company's European soldiers, on an attempt being made to transfer them bodily, not so much against their will, for that was not the point, as without any recognition of their rights as Englishmen, from the service for which they stood enlisted and attested to that of the Crown. Had Campbell's counsels on this point prevailed, the Governmen

would have been saved a great deal of vexation and humiliation ; and an argument hardly relevant would not have been created against the enlistment of our own countrymen, or other Europeans, for service exclusively in India, in the event of such a measure having seemed at any future period advisable. These topics are held to be out of date now ; and we have no intention of dwelling on them ; General Shadwell having, as his duty required of him, done full justice to the part taken by Lord Clyde in the discussion of them.

By May 1859 British supremacy was, after a two years' struggle, re-established in India. All confidence, it is true, was gone in the old system of depending chiefly on sepoy mercenaries ; and it had been pronounced necessary that the "British standing army of all arms must always be kept up for the presidency of Bengal at 60,000 men." But with all this, the country was fast relapsing into that condition of profound peace and security which happily it has maintained ever since. Campbell therefore not unnaturally began to feel that the time had come when he might hang up his sword. He was now in his sixty-seventh year, no age at all for a fox-hunter, or even for a hard-worked statesman who has lived chiefly in England ; but enough for the battered soldier,

*" Multo jam fractus membra labore."*

He was beginning to *feel* old. His taste for early rising had slackened. Even his morning walk (at Simla) had ceased to please. Colds and other ailments often got hold of him ; and most decided change of all, a wheeled vehicle he now preferred to his saddle. One thing after another occurred to keep him at his post till the 4th of June 1860 ; when he at last sailed for England. His relations with Lord Canning had always been of the most cordial and delightful description ; and the leave-taking scene we can easily understand to have been other than a cold official ceremony. His father, it seems, had died near Edinburgh, not long before his distinguished son's return—the Maclivers having been a long-lived race, obviously. His sister was alive to receive him. The warmth of the welcome which he met with from all classes in England made up to him in some degree, let us hope, for his want of kindred. He never was married. With all his experiences, he had missed what Burns in a moment of genuine inspiration called

*" The true pathos and sublimity*

*Of human life."*

Many years previously, when quartered at Newcastle, much pleasant social intercourse had been thrown open to him, his biographer

tells us, by the neighbouring county families and others; and his "lively and agreeable conversation, as well as his conspicuously "delicate and refined manners, especially towards women, had "made him a remarkable favourite with ladies, both old and "young." His brief sojourn in the north at that time, we are further told, was not "without some romance in it, the recollection of which "was a frequent source of pleasure to him in after-years." Very likely this passage throws light on the fair 'Northumbrian friend,' who, as is discovered later on in the life, worked for him the garment which saved him at Chillianwala. If so, why did he not marry her? And having failed to do so, how is it that the 'romance' caused him pleasure afterwards? These are the only mysteries in all General Shadwell's two volumes; and we are far from hinting that he has acted otherwise than discreetly in preserving his friend's secret, if ever there was one, and letting the waistcoat speak for itself, as its fair donor probably intended it should do. This we say without concealing our regret that Campbell should have gone through life alone. When an ancient line, the *presidium et dulce decus* of perhaps a couple of counties, dies out for want of heirs, like the 'sough of an old song,' the loss is a national one. And so it is also when a soldier or statesman who, by the display of noble qualities, has won for himself a noble name dies without leaving to his country the precious legacy of a son.

The evening of Lord Clyde's life had now come, but it was a long summer evening, filled with pleasant lights, and passing gently into night. In 'manhood's glorious prime' he had inscribed on the fly-leaf of one of his memorandum books, these lines:

"By means of patience, common sense and time,  
Impossibility becomes possible."

In his own case the motto had been illustrated; and there remained now little more than the retrospect and the example. Honours continued to fall thick on his path, like fruits in autumn. The colonelcy of the Coldstreams, the freedom of the city of London, Knighthood of the Star of India, and, to crown all, the baton of a Field-Marshal, were bestowed on him. Sitting for his portrait, visiting dear old friends, both in England and abroad, attending occasionally to his duties in the Upper House, and explaining at the Horse-Guards the merits of some of those who had served under him, claimed what time and strength remained. In the course of one year, at this period, he gave away in money £6,792. A weakened condition of the heart was found to be what was wearing him

down. At last, after a short illness, on 14th August 1863, in the 71st year of his age, the end came, and the release. The nation mourned for one whose deeds were still fresh; and when he was laid in what was after all his soldier's grave, in Westminster Abbey, it was felt that a standard-bearer had fallen. He was not great, in the sense that Wellington was; nor many-sided, like Charles Napier; nor intellectual; nor even, perhaps, highly educated; but he was great at seeing and doing his duty; great in earnestness and simplicity of purpose, forgetfulness of self and loyalty to his country; and great in doing with all his might whatever was given to him to do. Of the manner in which his friend and biographer has performed his labour of love we cannot speak too highly. Scarcely a trace of exaggeration is to be met with; and although there may be room for compression hereafter, a less full presentment might not at first have satisfied at all events the military reader. Having been rather chary of our extracts from volumes which we feel sure have been widely read, we can the better afford to quote the following passage, in the hope of its arresting the attention of those responsible for our military administration:

"He welcomed with eagerness the introduction of such innovations as tended to advance the theoretical and practical instruction of all ranks of the service; and when in positions of command, he seconded with all his energy the efforts of the authorities to this end. On one point, however, he held the most decided opinion. He placed unbounded faith in the OLD SOLDIER; whose presence in the ranks, whether as an example of discipline to his younger comrade, or a support to him in the hour of trial, he regarded as the basis of his calculations, in determining the physical and tactical value of the forces at his disposal. Those who were by Lord Clyde's side during the Indian mutiny, will have in their recollection the relief he felt at seeing a battalion of seasoned and experienced soldiers, weak though their numbers might be, join his force which was so largely composed of young regiments."

The above views belong, we are aware, like Campbell himself, to the 'old world,' and to the epoch of Waterloo and Trafalgar. Campbell had good reason for adhering to them to the last; for if one thing saved India more than another during the crisis of the mutiny, it was the number of regiments composed of old soldiers, such as the 78th Highlanders, and the Company's local battalions of Europeans, which were present in the country at the time.

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### ART. III.—A SONG ABOUT SAKHI SARWAR.

Sabb taufiqān Sātn Sachche,  
Jumlyāṅ de Rabb parde kajje,  
Jo kujh chāhe sot kardā,  
Lore kon hatāyā ?

Ape lendā, āpe dendā,  
Sāhib Dātā sakal jyān dā ;  
Ik lakh kat churāst jūnā  
Maullā rizaṅ puchāyā.

**M**R. MACAULIFFE in the January number 1875 of this Review has given a slight sketch of the "Fair at Sakhi Sarwar," and, as far as I know, this is the only occasion on which this celebrated Saint of the Panjāb and the town named after him have been brought before the public.

In the article in question there is not much information regarding Sakhi Sarwar given, and the truth is there is not very much to be said about him in the way of history. As regards legend, however, there is no lack of material in the Panjāb, as he is very widely worshipped,—much more so than most people suspect,—and that, too, almost entirely by the poor and ignorant, among whom, of course, legends would soon gain ground and flourish. In many thousands of families his name is a household word, and whole sects of *bharāṭns*, or bards, make a living by celebrating his praises and the innumerable miracles attributed to him. To such an extent has this been going on, that there is now a sort of Sarwar slang or phraseology which obtrudes itself everywhere on the attention of the student of these bards' songs : one constantly meets with words which apparently have no meaning in the context, but which are explained as having a special interpretation and as being peculiar to the bards and the worshippers of the Saint. None of the songs about Sarwar (and these appear to be many, probably, however, mostly variations of a few main songs) have ever, as far as my information goes, been committed to writing in original. Mrs. F. A. Steel, my co-adjutrix in the collection of Panjābi folklore now being published in the *Indian Antiquary*, after much trouble, got together some eight or ten for me, one of which forms the subject of this paper. When one takes into consideration that these bards are completely ignorant of religion and history, sing in the vulgarest Panjābi entirely from memory, and with the calmest indifference as to the proper sequence of the verses, are invariably unable to explain any allusions with clearness—their explanations being all traditional and frequently obviously wrong,—it is not difficult to see that it has been no easy task to sift their songs and make sense and sequence out of them.

It is not my intention to repeat here what Mr. Macauliffe has already said about the Saint's life and story, and what I have



independently discovered, will be related elsewhere in due course, when I come to edit the songs that have been collected. I will therefore merely relate what is necessary to explain the song. Sarwar, or Sakhi Sarwar Sultân, as the full title runs, is a mere title and nothing more, the Saint's real name was Sayad Ahmed. His father, whose name was Zainu-'l-'âbdîn, was probably sprung from one of the Muhamâmadan host that came into India during the Ghaznavide occupation (997 to 1186 A. D.). At any rate Sarwar seems to have flourished between 1128 and 1177 A. D. Several places in the Panjâb are connected specially with his name: Lahore itself, Saundhara in the Gujrânwâlâ district, Mûltân, and finally Vador and Nigâhâ (better known to Europeans as Sakhi Sarwar) in the Dera Ghâzi Khân district, at which last his shrine is situated. At this shrine is a vast annual fair, attended from all parts of the Panjâb by Hindus, Sikhs and Musalmâns of the lower sort alike and held in Baisâkh (April). The shrine, as it at present stands, was built, they say, by one 'Isâ of Delhi, in Aurangzeb's time (1658—1707 A. D.), and improved by the Diwâns Lakhpat Rai and Jaspat Rai of Lahore about A. D. 1730.\* These names are significant of the general esteem of the Saint and the mixed religion of his worshippers. The shrine has been again further improved in the matter of water-supply under English occupation, probably for reasons of public health.

Miracles of course Sarwar performed during his life, and has continued to perform since his death. One of the most celebrated of these miracles is the restoration to life of the child of one Dâni, a Sikh woman. Dâni was a Siddhu Jatt and came from Lândeke in the Mogha Tahsil of the Ferozpur district, which village is now held by her descendants, who call themselves Sultânîs or followers of Sakhi Sarwar Sultân. This miracle was performed during a pilgrimage to Nigâhâ, undertaken by Dâni in honour of her having at last prayed in despair to Sarwar for a son after 12 years of childless wifehood and having had her prayer granted. Owing, however, to her not having properly fulfilled her vow, the child was slain by Sarwar and restored to life again at Dâni's entreaty by the Saint. This power of granting sons is thoroughly Indian, and is ascribed I think to every *Pir* and *Bhagat*.

The song here rendered into English verse relates the story of Dâni in full, and is interesting I think not only for the poetical elements contained in it and its curious language, but as illustrating most of the peculiarities of the cultus of Sarwar and indeed of all Panjâb hagiology. The first thing to be noticed

\* Diwân Lakhpat Rai was killed 1743 A. D.—Griffin's *Rajas of the Panjâb*, 456.  
Singh Ahluwâlî of Kapurthallâ in

in the song is the charming indifference as to religious forms shown in it. Sarwar is nothing, if not Muhammadan, and yet his minister is Bhairûn, which is modern Panjâbi for Bhairava, a form of Siva in his dreadful shape! This mixing of Muhammadan and Hindu superstitions and beliefs of the lower classes is not, however, peculiar to the Panjâb, but exists equally in Bengal and elsewhere. Dâûî is a Sikh woman by religion, but I do not know that that would influence her much as regards going to a Muhammadan Saint for help. At any rate Bâbâ Nânak set a good example on this point; witness his intercourse with Shekh Farîd, Makhdûm Bahâ'u'ddin (more correctly I believe Bahâ'u'lhaqq) of Mâlâtân and many other Pîrs. The *Adi Granth*, or Sikh Scriptures, goes so far as to include writings by Shekh Farîd. However, be this as it may, Dâûî and Sarwar in the song discuss the respective merits of Sarwar and the Bhagats, Nâmdev and Dhannâ, and from the words put into Sarwar's mouth it is clear the poet saw nothing in this, and believed as much in these Hindu Bhagats as he did in Sarwar, the Pîr. And this brings me to another point. Your true wandering bard, or popular poet, cares little or nothing for chronology, and very little, it must also be said, for geography and history. Sarwar lived in the 12th century A. D.; these two Bhagats were disciples of Kabîr and contemporaries of Bâbâ Nânak, and therefore did not come on the scene till the end of the 15th century: Dâûî was a Sikh, and, according to the song, visited Jhandiâla, then a holy place. Now Jhandiâla (near Amritsar) was founded as a sacred place by "Guru" Handâl in 1561 A.D., according to all accounts; so from the song Dâûî must have flourished some time after that date. That Dâûî and Sarwar should converse together at the least computation 500 years after the latter's death may not seem to the vulgar Panjâbi to be curious, but that they should discuss Dhannâ and Nâmdev is at least remarkable! This visit to Jhandiâla helps us to fix the date of the song as not earlier than the middle of the 17th century, which conclusion the language warrants. The *Lambardâr* or headman of Lândeke, the village above mentioned, says he is the grandson of Dâûî, and consequently the son of the boy who was raised from the dead! So perhaps Dâûî's date may be as late as about 1820. The poem was written by one Nihâlâ, but who he was I do not know.

The song, as I have before said, tells the whole story, and we can follow Dâûî all through her journey, though the end is characteristically lame.\*. She starts from her home and travels to Jhandiâla

\* I fancy the abrupt endings to so many oriental folktales are due to failure of memory resulting from the

traditions being entirely oral and never committed to paper,

near Amritsar: we can then follow her down the Bâri Doâb, along the left bank of the river Râvi, to Mûltân, whence she turns northwards, somewhat unaccountably crossing the Satlaj (properly Gârâ), there called the Tirmu, at the Tirmu (Trimmu officially) ferry near Serâi Siddhu, whence she finds her way over the Indus to Dera Ghazi Khan, and thence to the sacred spots of Vador and Nigâhâ. Arrived at Nigâhâ, the child dies, and is restored to life by Sarwar at Dâni's intercession, when she is alone at night in the shrine, and next day she tells the story to her friends. It is curious to observe the want of "proof" shown here as to the facts on which this miracle rests, and yet it is one which has done much to exalt Sarwar's fame in the eyes of the people. According to the story itself Dâni hid her child's death from her relatives from fear—no one knew of it, and, when it came to life again, only she herself was present. So the believers in Sarwar have only her word to go upon, not only for the story of the restoration to life, but even for the very death which preceded it. However I presume the true believer in saints and their miracles is not supposed to look too closely into proofs, or there would be no merit in his faith!

It will be observed that the metre of the song is a peculiar one, and that the stanzas are of unequal length. In rendering the song metrically into English, I have exactly maintained the rhyme and rhythm of the original in its every peculiarity and have endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to present the ideas contained in it, as well as its form, to the English reader. It may, however, sound rank heresy to orthodox scholars of what the Continental doctors call Hindu poetry, to say that any English rhymes could maintain "exactly the rhyme and rhythm" of any possible form of native, as distinguished from Mission School, Panjâbi poetry. No doubt the expression does demand explanation, and that I will endeavour to give in outline, for the subject is naturally a large one. What I have above said about modern Panjâbi verse, I have substantially said elsewhere\*, when treating another modern Panjâbi popular song, viz., that the versification of the modern Panjâbi ballad is practically the same as that of our own Teutonic (German or English) ballads. Now, in order to explain the difference between this view and the orthodox one, I will premise that all modern Panjâbi verse, especially that of the common folk and the illiterate, follows the methods of the Adi Granth, that being *par excellence* the Panjâbi poem: though the Panjâbis are always careful to distinguish between what they call their vernacular and Gurmukhî (Gurû's tongue), or language of the Sikh Scriptures. This fact no one, I believe, is inclined

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\* *Indian Antiquary*. Folklore in the Panjâb, No. 14.

to dispute. What the methods of the Granth are, Dr. Trump in his translation has carefully explained, but confessedly not according to the present Panjâbi view thereof. Dr. Trump,\* after explaining that *old Hinduî* means the language of the Bhagats (15th century), *Hinduî* the language of Gurû Gobind Singh's time (1675—1708) and *Hindî*, the modern idiom, says—"there are two leading principles in Hinduî poetry, viz., the verses are measured by *quantity* only, i.e., by the number of *moras* (not by the number of syllables or feet), and they must rhyme together." The *mora* is the *mâtra*, or *kald*, a point of time known as a short syllable, and two *moras* make a long syllable. The verses consist of so many *moras* (not syllables), and according to the exigency of the metre, syllables may be made long or short for the nonce, or split up into their constituents to suit the verse, in order to insure the proper number of *moras*. Dr. Trump then goes on to say†, "another point which must be well-attended to is, that the pronunciation of Hinduî differs greatly in poetry from that usual in prose. In prose the consonants are more frequently mute, and so is always a final mute consonant containing a short *a*, but in scanning a verse no vowel is, as a rule, to be passed over." This system of scanning and of reading the poetry of the Granth leads him to explain the rhythm and pronunciation of two *dohds* of Gurû Tegh Bahâdur thus—

Bala chutkio bandana pare kachû na hota upâi †  
 Kahu Nâuka "abu ota Hari gaja jiu hohu sahâi,"  
 Sangi sakhâ sabhi taji gae kôû na nibhyo sâtha  
 Kahu Nâuka, "ihu bipata mai teka eka Raghu-nâtha."

I put it to any dweller in the Panjâb whether one word of the lines as above given would be intelligible to the average Panjâbis of the present day, or whether they would find any difficulty in reading or understanding them if given thus, as they were read to me by a bard—

Bal chutkyo, bandan pare,  
 Kuch na hot upâi :  
 Kaho Nâuk "ab ôt Hari,  
 Gaj jiu ho sahâi."  
 Sang sakhâ sabh taj gae,  
 Kôû na nibhyo sâthi :  
 Kaho Nâuk, "eh bipat mai,  
 Tek ek Raghu-nâth "

I took the trouble to get Mirân Baksh and Ghunnâ, two of the regular singers at the "Darbâr Sâhib," or Golden Temple, at Amritsar, to sing and recite this and the *dohds* following it, and

\* Trump's *Adi Granth*, cxxvii & cxxix.

† *I bid*, cxxviii.  
 ‡ *I bid*, cxxviii.

also with the originals before me songs about Kabîr (Kamîr as they called him), Nâmdev and Dhannâ out of the Granth, and I feel sure that the pronunciation I have given here is correct.

Now this brings me to the pith of my contention. Dr. Trump is probably quite right as to the intention and methods of the educated writers of the Granth when they composed their poetry, writing as they did mostly some 300 years ago in an idiom foreign to a great extent to the language current around them. Their aim seems to have been to follow the idiom of the Bhagats as nearly as possible, and in doing so they would naturally adopt the fine prosodial system of Kabîr and the other writers whom they took as their guides.\* But, says Dr. Trump, "the Sikhs themselves seem now to have lost all knowledge of the metrical laws of the Granth, for I have never met a person who could give me the least clue to them, and the learned Brahmans disdain to read the Granth."† This is just my experience. The modern ballad singer, and to my knowledge at least one composer of popular ballads, knows nothing of *pauris* and *dohds* and *chaupais* and *sloks*, and nothing whatever of the metres of the Granth. He pronounces his words in verse as in prose, and except that he allows himself a limitless license to twist any word as his fancy dictates, to suit his rhymes and rhythm, he makes no difference between verse and prose in this respect, and yet the poems of the Granth are without doubt his models.

The question then arises. If these bards do not follow the prosody of the Granth, on what system do they compose their verses? In my opinion the proper answer would be, on no system at all. Your illiterate poet listens to the songs from the Granth and the compositions of other bards, and in copying them is satisfied if his verses "run" and rhyme at the end. I feel convinced of this and quote the following from a song about the Firozpur District Canals, very popular there, and composed by a man quite ignorant of classical prosody of any kind. It is the work of a Musalman and can be bought in Firozpur city, written in the *Persian* character—

ہوے پنڈان وچ بھی کدھے باجہ شمار  
پانی دیہہ زراعتان ہوئی باغ بہار -  
گردی گردی شہر دے باغان وچ پچھان  
نہر پھیرے صاحب نے نال عتق دے تان -

\* Dr. Trump's elucidation of the Kelloug :—*Hindi Grammar*, Supplement on Prosody. metres of the Granth shows that they are essentially those of the writings of the Hindu poets: See

† *Adi Granth*, cxxviii.

These couplets I should be inclined to print in the Roman character as stanzas, thus—

Sue pindân vich bhî  
Kadîhe bâjh shumâr :  
Pâut deh zarî'etân  
Hot bâgh bahâr.  
Girdê girdê Shahr de  
Bâghân vich pachhân ;  
Nahir phere Sâhib ne  
Nâl 'aql de tân.

Cuts too in the villages were dug beyond number :  
Water being given to the fields, they became a spring-garden.  
Round and round the city, they can be seen in the gardens :  
The Sâhib with great acuteness made the canal to surround it.

Here the bard's ignorant rhyming has brought him close "to the comparatively harsh and inflexible system of English versification,"\* as Mr. Kellogg says, though why he should call the Teutonic accentuated verse harsh, I do not know.

Now the writer of the above is to some extent an educated man, and his verse differs only in smoothness from those I will now quote.† These verses are also about the canals, and were taken down in the Persian character from the lips of a Sânsî ‡ paunkha-cooly.

جٹے جٹان موگے لائی لاوتے کڈک تے گپاہ  
پہاتہا جٹ تے جلاہا تائی تور گلون تولہ

Jitthe Jattân moghe lî'î lâ,  
Otthe kanak te kapâh :  
Phâtâ Jatt, te Julâhî  
Tâut tor galon to lâh.

Where the Jatts bring canal cuts,  
There are wheat and cotton :  
The Jatt applies himself, and the weaver,  
Breaking his loom, gives it up.

In these songs the Persian character in which they were written precludes any tampering with final syllables, as would be necessary in order to fit them into classical prosody. Besides I have heard the composer of the former recite his own song and the Sânsî repeat his, and I know the words are as I have written them in the Roman character.

One more similar quotation and I have done. It is from a song

\* *Hindî Grammar*, Prosody, § 3.

‡ One of the "criminal tribes"

† Both these songs are given by of the Panjâb; they are grossly length in *Panjâb Folklore*, Ind. Ant. ignorant.  
No. 14.

of Dhannâ, current in the Panjâb, and popularly ascribed to Trilochan, or Tarloch, as he is now called. It is said to be in the Adi Granth, though it is not there. I have it in the Persian character and so give it as it came to me—

ہردے کم حوالے کر کے دھنا گھر نون آیا -  
 اگون استری بچھن لاکسی باہر کون بٹھایا -  
 کہیتی دا کم کھرا اوگھرا کس بہروسے آیا -  
 دادے اما فال چنگی کیتی کا مہا بہلے رلیا •

And transliterate it as I heard the bard sing it—

Har de kamm hawâle kerke,  
 Dhannâ ghar nûn âyâ :  
 Aggon istri puchchhan lāgi—  
 “Bâhar kon bithâyâ ?  
 “Khôti dâ kamm kharâ ogharâ,—  
 “Kis bharosê âyâ ?”  
 “Dâie asâ nâl changî kitti  
 “Kâmâ bhâlê râlâyâ.”

Giving over the work to Hari, Dhannâ went home :

Then his wife began to ask, ‘whom have you placed outside ?

“Field work is very difficult,—on whom do you depend ?”

“The Brahman has been good to us and has given us a good servant.”

Now this is probably an old song and consists of stanzas of three, four and five verses, all rhyming together at the end, and is evidently capable of being treated as a poem composed in the Hindî *mâtrachhand* order of metres.

Thus—

Hārī dē kammā hāwālē kārūkē |  
 Dhānnā ghārō nū āyā ||  
 Aggō istri pūchchhān lāgi |  
 Bāhārā kōn bithāyā ||  
 Khōti dē kammā khārā oghārā |  
 Kīsē bhārōsē āyā ||  
 Dāiē asā nāl chāngī kitti |  
 Kāmā bhālē rālāyā ||

This gives us a stanza of lines of 16 + 12 = 28 *moras* each with the *cæsura*, or harmonic pause, after the 16th *mora*. This is the Hindî metre known as the *Lalita* or *Haripāda chhand*.\* In the *Lalita* metre the last two syllables of each line must be long

\* Kellogg's Prosody, §54. This *Chhand* metre of the Granth, see metre corresponds somewhat with the Trump, p. cxxxv.

and such is the case throughout the song. I give another verse of it to show the metre better—

دھنا کہندا منو ناراین پربلی تیری مایا  
جنہاں تون تون اپ وداوے کون بلاوے رایا -  
پرماند مادھہ کی سنگت دنہا دھن کہا یا •

The Persian characters sufficiently show the modern pronunciation of the verse, so I will merely here show the metrical form of the words in the Roman character—

Dhānā kālāndā, "Sānō Nārāyānā |  
Prābhā rēro māyā ||  
Jihā nū tū āpā wālāvō |  
Kōnā bhāvē rāvā ||  
Pāṣmānā sādhu kī sāngātā |  
Dhānā-dhānā kābhāyā ||

Dhannā said, 'listen Nārāyan, great is thy fascination !

"Whom thou thyself exaltest who would laugh at?"

Blessed is the companionship of the saint! Dhannā is called the fortunate !

Such no doubt was the metre and intention of the author, whoever he was, of this song of Dhannā, but the *sound* to the vulgar is that given in the quotation in Persian character, and the result must be obvious, that any illiterate poet imitating such a song would be guided entirely by ear and not by any rules of prosody. And I believe that the Panjābi poets of the people are so guided, just as without doubt the authors of many of our old English ballads and folk songs had to trust to their ear for the rhythm and rhyme of their compositions. The careful enumeration of syllables and the correct fall of accent and cœsura observable in the polished writing of our great poets is merely the result of mental cultivation, not of essential variation of system, as I have above observed about the Panjābi songs of the Canal. None of these points are observable in the verses of the *bonâ fide* peasant composer of country-folk's rhymes. Such a conclusion seems inevitable on comparing the following specimen of English folk rhymes with the subjoined stanza from Byron :

Mary laid her down to sleep,  
Her thoughts on Sandy, far at sea,  
When soft and slow a voice was heard :  
"Mary, weep no more for me."†

\* Lit. "call a king?"

page 113.

† Folklore Record, 1879, vol. II,



And then examine—

Each fainter trace that mem'ry holds  
So darkly of departed years  
In one broad glance the soul beholds  
And all that was at once appears.\*

Again, the rough uncouth metre of the following from the English counties seems to be the offspring of the same uncultivated ideas of music as produced the above-noted verses from the Sânsis of the Panjâb, and I feel sure the same notions of rhythm guided the authors of both compositions. I should not be surprised to find, if any one were curious enough to try the feat, that the old English ballads could be made to scan to the *Mâtra-chhandas* of Hindû poetry, and to fit into one of their hundred and one forms, just as well as, would an average village song from the Panjâb.

"Its for your sake, Sir James the Rose,  
"That my poor heart's a-breaking :  
"Cursed be the day I did thee betray  
"Thou brave knight o' Buleighau"  
Then up she rose and forth she goes,  
And in that fatal hour  
She bodily was borne away  
And never was seen more :  
But where she went was never kent,  
And so to end the matter,  
A traitor's end you may depend,  
Can never be no better. †

Rhythm and rhyme are no happier in the above than in the following from the village Panjâbi : in fact, the musical capacity of the village poet does not seem to be sufficient to enable him to keep to his metre any better in England than in the Panjâb.

Vîga rūpaiya Sirkâr dâ ;  
Ana Lambardâr dâ.  
Jarmâna bhardî khâl dâ  
Sâhib Jî lendâ chittî chândî ;  
Sâhib Jî lendâ khârî chândî :  
Pânî panj fut rahâ,  
! ânî panj fut rahâ,  
Suâ tutuo rahâ, etc.

There is one point, however, which should not be overlooked when studying popular poetry in a country like the Panjâb. Usually, Muhammadans of any pretensions to education, writing in Urdu, attempt to base their poetry on the Persian (*i. e.*, the Arabic) metrical system, but do not apparently extend the practice to compositions in the vernacular. The Granth, which practically

\* Hebrew Melodies : " When coldness  
wraps this suffering clay."

† Folklore Record, 1879, vol. II,  
page 116.

follows Kabîr and the Hindî Bhagats, is the basis of all the Panjâbi Sikh and Hindû poetry, and apparently also of all the Musalman vernacular poetry, or, in other words, of all Panjâbi versification. This is well illustrated by the *Hîr o Rânjhâ* of Wâris Shâh, the great Panjâbi erotic poem, known everywhere and to be purchased in any bazaar, lithographed in the Persian character. It is a pity it is not more studied, though perhaps its great difficulty has kept away students. Quotations will be made also from other popular poems to illustrate this point. Wâris Shâh was, most people say, an ignorant man, but it is much more likely that he was partially educated. His whole poem and it is very long, being 148 pages of Persian writing, is composed in the *Jhûlnâ Chhand*, thus—

احوال ۛیر  
مٹھی مٹھی ایہہ گل نہ فرو اریو -  
مڈان سن دیان آپن مرگئی جینے -  
تسان ایہہ جدوگنی چاگل کیدھی -  
کھلی تلی ۛی مڈن لہوگئی جینے \*

This is always read and pronounced as follows :—

*Ahwal Hîr.*

Muthî, muthî : eh gal na karo, ario ;  
Maitân sun diân in mar gayî jene.  
Tussân eh jadokanî châ gal kîtt  
Khali tali hi main lhur gayî jene.

*Hîr's Story.*

I am deceived, deceived : oh, don't say this !  
Hearing this I am become lifeless.  
Since you have said this  
Standing I sank down and was undone.

Now the *Jhûlnâ Chhand* should consist of 40 *mâtras* to the *charan* or line, divided into cæsural pauses of 8, 12, 12 and 8 *mâtras* respectively, and the metre, applied to the above verses, makes them run thus :—

Mûthî mûthî dhē | gālā nā kārō arîō |  
Maitā sūnā diā i | nārā gāyî jōnē ||  
Tūsā dhē jādō | kânî chā gālā kîtt |  
Khālî tali hî mai lō | hārā gāyē jēnē ||

It should be borne in mind, however, that the pronunciation of the verse is not like this, but is that of the transliteration immediately before it. Such also is the case with verses quoted below from the *Pûran Bhagat*, another very popular poem of the Panjâb composed in the same metre, and of the erotic stanzas of the

Sassî Punnûn of Hâshim Shâh, which are of equal celebrity. Thus this from the Pûran Bhagat would be pronounced—

فی پھیر کیا - غصہ ہوے پورن -  
تیں تون وگ کی گڈی ہی بان مائے -  
جدھی، اتری تون - ارہی باپ میرا -  
تون تون شکم تھیں جمیا - جان مائے \*

Fe, pher kihâ, ghusse hoe Pûran,  
Tain nûn wagg kî gayî hai bân, mâe ?  
Jidhî istrî tûn, oh hai bāp merâ,  
Tûn tou shikam tî:n jamyâ jân, mâe ?

Pûran said again, being angry,  
What demon possesses you, Mother ?  
He whose wife you are is my father  
Consider me as born from your-body, Mother.\*

It would be scanned thus—

Fē † pāhēâ kihâ, | ghūssē hōe Pūrānâ |  
Tāi nū wāggî kî gāyî hai | bānâ mǎe |  
Jidhî istrî tū | oh hai bāpā mērâ |  
Tū tō shikāmē thî jāmyā | jānâ mǎe ‡

As in several cases in the metres of the Granth these two specimens of the Jhûlna Chhand do not tally,† as this has 44 *mātras* to the *charan*, and is divided by cæsuras of 11, 11, 15 and 7 *mātras* each.

The next quotation is from the Sassî Punnûn of Hâshim Shâh, which is constructed in a metre of 28 *mātras* to the line. Thus—

مان فراق - مہی دے مارے بیدارام نہ آوے -

\* ہردم وانگ یعقوب پغمبر (دوے) روے حال دن - جاوے -

Mân, farâq Sassî de mâre,  
Nînd âîâm na âve :  
Hardam wâng Ya'qûb Paghambar  
Roe roe hâl wan jāve.  
His mother, on account of separation from Sassî,  
Could not sleep or rest :  
Every moment, like Jacob the Prophet,§  
She was undone with weeping.

\*The story of Pûran Bhagat is much that of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Pûran's father had three wives ; one of his step-mothers fell in love with Pûran, and because he would not listen to her overtures she worried him into self-mutilation.

† The lines of this poem commence

with the letters of the Alphabet. There are poems like this in the Granth called *patî*, see Trump 602 - 605.

‡ See Trump, cxxx to cxxxii on the Tipadâ and Panjpadâ metres.

§ Like Jacob weeping for Joseph. Musalman Tradition.

The learned among the natives to whom I referred this verse called it the Chûlka Chhand, which is a *dohrâ* plus 4 *mâtras* i. e., it should run  $6+4+3$ ,  $6+4+1$ ,  $+4=28$  *mâtras*. But, as a matter of fact, according to my judgment, it runs somewhat like the Hindî Ullâla Chhand, viz.,  $15+13 (=28)$  *mâtras* alternately to the *charan*, divided thus  $(4 \times 3) + 3$ ,  $6+4+3=28$ .\* It may perhaps represent the vague slok metre of the Granth.†

I would scan the verse thus—

Mānā | fārāq | ā sāṣ | ai dē | māzē |  
 Nīnādhā ā | iānā nā | āvō ||  
 Hārā | dāmā | wāng yā' | qūb pā | ghāmbār |  
 Rōē rōē | hālā wā | jāvō ||

If, however, the transliterated version of the pronunciation be read as would an English accentuated poem, it will be found to run very much like an ordinary English ballad—

Mān, fārāq Saast de māre,  
 Nīnd āram na āve :  
 Hār dam, wāng Yaqūb Paghambar,  
 Rō ro hāl wanjāve.

And it should be remembered that this is the form of the pronunciation used by the readers. It is clear that the author of the Song of the Canal above quoted, in imitating such poems as these, would, when composing verses, follow only the popular pronunciation of them; he would be consequently, as he assured me he was, solely guided by his ear, or, to use his own expression, "by the turn of his mind." This I believe is really the case with all the poetry of the village-folk. At any rate it would be pedantic, I think, to attempt to make them fit into any recognised system of prosody.

Since writing the above, I have purchased from the Lahore College a small book in the Gurmukhi character, called *Pingul Manjari*, or Treatise on Versification, by one Bihari Lal for one anna. I see it is published in 700 copies, and the author must be a scholar of the modern type, as on the cover of the book he has the date thus ੨੫-੨-੧੮੭੮ or 25-2-1878. The book is only so far a treatise on versification, as it contains specimens of various sorts of verse, but always without explanation of any kind. The number of *mâtras* is sometimes marked thus, त्रिभंगौ छन्द १०+८+८+६ i. e., Tribhangî Chhand,  $10+8+8+6$ ; this has a very suspicious look about it, as if our author had been studying Kellogg, or some English prosodial writer, and must be unintelligible to the village reader. However the point of it is, as regards our present argument, that it is purchased for one anna,

\* Kellogg. Prosody, §53.

† † Trump, cxxxi.

postage inclusive, and so is within reach of every one; and what practically happens is this—the village poet goes to fairs and, perhaps, literally sits at the feet of some wandering singer of note, gets the rhythm of various kinds of metres into his head, and then, if sufficiently ambitious, studies some such sketchy work as the Pingal Manjari which really teaches him nothing. More often, however, he is content to stop at the fairs and the wandering bard.

Having so far explained my views and given my reasons for saying that I have in my rendering maintained the metre of the original of the “Song of Dani,” I will now say a few words regarding the metres of the songs of the Sultânis, or bards, who sing in honor of Sakhi Sarwar Sultân, as far as my present acquaintance with them will permit me to judge of them. Excepting one fragment all the songs about Sakhi Sarwar, despite the fragmentary nature of many of them, and despite the obviously incorrect form in which some of them have come to me, were I believe composed in the same metre and are, perhaps, all the work of the same author.

Described in the Hindu fashion, the songs are composed of lines of irregular length, rhyming together at the end and containing 1, 3, 4 or 5 (usually 3) cæsuras, or harmonic pauses. There is an internal subordinate rhyme at each pause except at the penultimate one. When the line has only one cæsura, there is no internal rhyme. The cæsuras occur at each 16th instant, but before the final pause there are only 12 instants. The rhymes are, as usual, double. The usual verse, then, would be technically described as consisting of verses of  $(3 \times 16) + 12 = 60$  mâttras.

Described in the English fashion, the poems consist of stanzas of irregular length, containing 2, 4, 5 and 6 lines (usually 4) each. The final lines of two or more stanzas rhyme together, but not with the other lines of the stanzas themselves: all the lines of the stanzas rhyme with each other, except the penultimate one, which has no rhyme, and the final one, which rhymes as above described. When the stanzas consist of only two lines, then the second line rhymes as usual, but the first line is treated as if it were the penultimate line of the ordinary stanza. The lines are all of 8 syllables, except the final one, which is of 6. The rhymes are double. I describe the lines as of 8 and 6 syllables advisedly, as in polished English verse syllables *must* be counted, or the verse will degenerate into the mere popular doggerel above quoted.

As I believe the poet composed by ear and not according to any rules of prosody, I give these two descriptions as being equally applicable. In the original the length of the lines is not determined by the number of syllables, or, apparently, by the *moras*, or instants, but by sound, just as the stanza about Mary and Sandy,

already quoted, has, when counted, 7, 8, 8 and 7 syllables in its lines, though obviously meant to have 8 syllables to the line.

Pieces of prose are interspersed among the verses throughout the song as is often the case in similar poems and form an essential part of the song.

A good specimen of the metre is given at the head of this paper. The stanzas there quoted open the song in accordance with the usual custom, in praise of God. The verses now quoted, which are translated, "The monarch in his vengeful power," &c., show nearly all the peculiarities of the metre.

Nâmâ Chhîmbâ Bâdshâh pharyâ,  
Mâran nân oh bâhar turyâ,  
—Dâûâ pâûî si ohdâ laryâ,\*  
Gâo jawâî : tân oh bachyâ,  
Nahîu sî darî vich âyâ.  
Dhaune Bhagatî dî pâk kamât :  
Mât Nâmê gâo jawât,  
Poh mahîne mahân syâle  
Sattar wârô nhâyâ ;  
Bâdshâh de darwâze agge  
Wachhâ chadd chunghâyâ.

A specimen of a six-line stanza is this:—

Tû sun, Zaiuu-'l-'âbdîn de Jâe,  
Sikhân de ghar asî vyâhe,  
Sikh sâware puttâr parâe,  
Dâman terâ pharke âe !  
Ethe dâ jawâb khilôton !  
Agge kon langhâyâ ?

I subjoin the metrical rendering<sup>2</sup> to show more exactly what is meant by "maintaining the metre."

Zaiuu-'l-'Abdin's son, to reach thee  
Have I journeyed and to preach thee :  
Wedded to the Sikhs, I teach thee  
Unto Sikhs. Help ! I beseech thee !  
Thou art silent ! So to turn me  
Now I know not whither !

In the original, as is often the case, the same rhyme is kept up at the end of each stanza throughout the poem, excepting in two stanzas in the middle. This rhyme turns on the past tense of the causal verbs in *dnd*, as can be seen from the stanzas just quoted. It was, of course, impossible to maintain this in any English rendering, and license was therefore taken to rhyme only as many of the stanzas at a time as were found to go naturally together. It is clear from the two opening stanzas in Praise of God, which are separate from the poem and from the two isolated stanzas

\* reversed form=*ralyâ*, remained.

occurring in the middle of it, rhyming in *drā*, that the stanzas are meant to rhyme two and two together, so the license is a war-rantable one.

I have said that in one fragment this system of rhyme does not occur. I give it here for the curious to study, and own that it has fairly beaten me.

Jad Sarwar Kakki de wāris de ghar giā, tad ohne inkār kitā : karāmāt nāl Kakki bol utthī.

Wanān wakārān Pīr diān kahārān

Pīlān mang moton līān :

Poh Māgh bār lagāt,

Wan darakht mewa lagāyā. \*

When Sarwar went to the house of Kakki's † owner, he refused her. Kakki miraculously cried out—

In the forest the saint's bearers

Have asked me for the wild oak's ‡ fruit.

He (Sarwar) in the midst of winter made the jungle green

And made the wild oak to bring forth fruit.

In rendering the poem I have endeavoured to give the sense always, even when altering the wording of passages solely oriental to suit English ears and minds. Thus in the first stanzas "*Ik lakh kaī churāsi jāna*" (*lit.*, one lakh and some 84 lives = transmigrations,) has been translated "the past or passing or the coming hour." And again, "*Kutte chārmā kare tayyārī*" is rendered by "each observance keeping." The double rhyme has greatly increased the difficulty of the translation and will, I hope, excuse some of the shortcomings visible in it.

### *Sakhi Sarwar's Miracles for Dānī.*

And Sakhi Sarwar worked miracles for Dānī the Jatt woman.

Lord of all power, that hidest

All our sins, and aye abidest

True, that doest as Thou listest !

Who shall dare Thy power ?

Thou, the Giver and the Taker,

Lord of every life and maker,

Be it in the past, or passing,

Or the coming hour.

Sarwar of the mountains cureth

Every ill that man endureth,

Be he childless, blind, or leper,

If he do but pray him :

\* This metre might be described as  $(4 \times 4)$ ,  $(4 \times 3) + 4 = 32$  *mātrās* to the *charan*, and may be an attempt at the *Chauvola*. *Chhand* which is  $(4 \times 4)$ ,  $(4 \times 3) + 2 = 30$  *mātrās*. See Kellogg, *Prosody*, § 58.

† Kakki was the name of Sarwar's mare. She is connected with several miracles.

‡ Pīlu = ban = wan = *queous* *arcana* = wild oak. The fruit ripens about July, i. e., midsummer.

Where the castes were tribes dividing,  
He that made one faith abiding,  
As it was in the beginning,  
And none dared gainsay him.

After twelve years, prayed to Sarwar  
Childless Dānī weeping :  
God gave a son, to be a holy  
Preacher of the saint and lowly :  
Called she then a saintly singer,  
Each observance keeping.

Now, when the bard came, he sang songs to the glory of Sakhi Sarwar, and the news of it reached the husband of Dānī, working at his well. And he, being a follower of Gurū Nānak and a Sikh, went home quickly, and in his wrath he spake unto Dānī—

"Worship him no more," loud spake he,  
Dānī's faith deriding.  
Seized and threatened in her prison  
Prayed she in her hiding,  
"If, in thee my faith retaining,  
"Aid for me is yet remaining,  
"Listen, Saint to my complaining."  
Sarwar heard, and dreaded Bhairūn \*  
Sent he for their chiding.

While the darkness yet was on them  
Sprang forth Bhairūn dread upon them :  
All that household, youth and elder,  
To sore pain awaking :  
Night passed, and ere day had broken  
Each his fair excuse had spoken ;  
Making ready for the journey  
As the day was breaking.

Karmā,† preparation making,  
Dānī, her sweet firstborn taking,  
Went together. Spake the household,  
"Go to Sarwar holy."  
Fond farewell and tender-hearted  
Taking, from their home they parted :  
To the City of the Gurū‡  
Went as pilgrims lowly.

\* Bhairūn = Bhairava : a form of Siva, the Destroyer, used in these songs for a dreadful creature in the employ of Sakhi Sarwar.

† Karmā, probably for Dānī's husband : in another song Karmā and Dharmā are said to be her husband's elder and younger brothers. The names may, however, be historical. Dānī and her people were

Siddhu Jats. Sirdars Karam Singh (Karmā) and Dharam Singh (Dharmā) were the first Siddhus to become Sikhs and may be alluded to here. Wynyard's *Settlement Report of the Amballa Dist* 1st, 1859, paras. 83-85. ‡ Jhandialā, about 6 miles from Amritsar : a holy place of some sects of the Sikhs.



Who prays at Nigâhâ\* hoary,  
 These hath he, to Sarwar's glory,  
 Kindly act and word well-spoken  
 And sons twain for guerdon.  
 Reached Mûltân the pilgrims, sounding  
 Lordly drums, and songs resounding  
 Sarwar's name and proudly bearing  
 Sarwar's praise for burden. •

At Mûltân Dâni perceived that their cloths and their other excellent things were very beautiful, and she said unto herself, "If I buy some things of these marvels and take them home and give to my maids, it will be a pleasure unto them. But what shall I do? I have but one and twenty gold pieces for an offering to Sakhî Sarwar and for the necessities of the way. I will contrive a plan. I will keep one-half of the twenty-one pieces that I have brought for an offering to Sakhî Sarwar, and with the other half I will buy me presents for my maids and for my kindred." She having therefore this evil intent, Sakhî Sarwar conceived her to be dishonourable.

Saintly wisdom who shall fathom?  
 Who gauge saintly power?  
 Whom the whole earth deemeth holy  
 Ghauns Bahâuddîn † they lowly  
 Worshipped, raising Sarwar's standard  
 At the halting hour.  
 Crossed at Siddhu Tirmu's ferry; ‡  
 At Wadorâ || made they merry  
 Dhodâ || Saint, till Sarwar held them  
 Of his faith the flower.

Now when Dâni had crossed over the river Tirmu, Sakhî Sarwar, to try her, sent unto her his minister, the dead Bhairûn, for he already knew that she, on account of her avarice, had become unfaithful, and had kept back half of her offering. And Bhairûn, taking upon him the form of a Brahman, went unto Dâni and begged an alms of her, but she, being vexed, said unto him, "I have been robbed all my journeying by the begging of such as you. Some of you forsooth call yourselves Brahmans and some Sayads, but I know not why so many Brahmans and Sayads should come unto this hungry land. I will not give

\* Nigâhâ, near Dera Ghâzi Khân at the foot of the Sakhî Sarwar Pass through the Sulimâns, is Sarwar's shrine.

† Ghauns Bahâuddîn, most probably for Makhdûm Bahâulhaqq, a Mûltân saint of some celebrity; there is no Ghauns of the name of Bahâuddîn as far as I know.

‡ Siddhu: Siddh Rājâ dī in the song: most likely for Serāfī Siddhu near the Trimmu Ferry over the Satlaj.

|| Wadorâ or Vador, a village near Dera Ghâzi Khân, where there is a shrine to Dhond or Dhodâ, Sarwar's brother.

a single mite unto any of you." Then dread Bhairūn flattered and besought her much, but Dānī would not give, and pushed him away. Afterwards Sakhi Sarwar himself, putting on the form of a Sayad, went unto Dānī, and unto him, too, she made the like answer. Then Sakhi Sarwar, being wrathful at her evil conduct, slew her son, as it is told in the songs.

He that giveth alms believeth  
What he asketh he receiveth  
Of Dhond's mercy ; so they lavished  
Alms at Dhodā's tower.  
Rānā's Trees \* where Kakki leaping  
Clove the rock †, long vigil keeping,  
Saw they, and the while some slumbered,  
Pondered some God's power.  
In the night God sent Death's Angel  
Forth at the sixth hour.

Seized of Death, who would be sleeping  
Could not rest : his mother weeping  
Coaxed her babe ; and for the keeping  
Death away, she in her terror  
Gave suck to the dying :  
Lying in her arms, her first-born  
Died where he was lying.  
At morn, where the wells are springing  
Bathed the pilgrims : there, too, singing,  
In a place apart the dead babe  
Bathed she, Death defying.

When Dānī saw that the child was dead, she dared not to make it known, because she thought within herself:—" If my husband and my other kindred hear of it, they will become very angry and will disgrace me, seeing that because of the joy of the birth of this child I came hither, and have journeyed thus far, bringing with me my husband and my kindred. And now the child is dead, and of a surety when my husband and my kindred hear the news thereof, they will become very angry at the trouble of the way being taken for nothing, and will conceive Sakhi Sarwar to be a liar, and, thinking me to be a very fool, will chastise me." Therefore Dānī told no one of the child's death, but, going into a corner apart, washed herself, and washed the child too for appearance sake and wrapped it up in her clothes. When she had finished washing, the priest of her household came unto her and said, " I have long been a servant in thy family. I have no cow, and my children have neither milk, nor curds, nor butter to their

\* Rānā's Bōri, or Wild Plum Trees : † Kakki, Sarwar's mare, is said to  
a clump of trees near a spring in the hav cloven her way through the  
neighbourhood of Nigāhā, said to Sulimāns by leaping through them  
have been planted by Rānā, Sarwar's for Sarwar.  
son and consequently sacred.

food. I am in great straits, and I beg a cow of thee." Then answered Dâni, "When the desire of my heart is accomplished, I will surely grant thee not a cow only, but also a buffalo for a gift." Then said the Priest, "What desire can remain unto thee still? Wealth thou always hadst, and now Sakhi Sarwar hath granted thee the child of thy desire." But Dâni was silent, since she feared she might speak of the child's death.

Then Dâni went and prayed.—

Glorious dome, that standest ever  
Worthy fruit of his endeavour  
Who upraised thee,\* that the faithful  
Here might shame the scoffers.  
Diamond speech and ruby treasure  
Of his lore in jewelled measure  
In the humble garb of trader  
'Neath thee Sarwar offers! .

When the most part of the night had passed, the people left the sanctuary and went unto their homes, but Dâni hid herself in a corner, and the attendant, thinking that no one was left in the sanctuary, shut the door and went his way. When Dâni perceived that the place was empty, and that the door was shut, she went up into the sanctuary, and sat down there and said :—

Dâni.—Conqueror of the mighty, Giver  
Of fair sons, thy slave deliver  
From her pain, that, seeking mercy,  
Brings her first-born hither.  
Zain-ul-âbdin's son†, to reach thee  
Have I journeyed and to preach thee :  
Wedded to the Sikhs, I teach thee  
Unto Sikhs. Help ! I beseech thee.  
Thou art silent. So to turn me  
Now I know not whither.

Sarwar.—Pain I cure, but who hath power  
To restore the withered flower ?  
Purity brings life, where evil  
Mars not, good uprooting.

Dâni.—Hold, O saint ; thine is the power :  
Thou didst cure the withered flower :  
At thy word in coldest winter  
Was the wild-oak fruiting. ‡

\* \* The modern shrine of Nigâha was said to have been built by one 'Isâ, a Delhi merchant of the time of Aurangzeb, and it was greatly improved by the Diwans, Lakhpat Rai and Jaspat Rai, of Lahore, who flourished in Ahmad Shâh Durâni's time.

† This is the name of Sakhi Sarwar's father in all the accounts

and songs.

‡ The story goes that Sarwar made the *ban* tree (*Pila* tree, *quercus arcana*) to fruit in January (*Poh*), its usual fruiting season being about July (*Har*). There is a song in which Kakkî asks the saint that the tree might fruit for the purpose of giving his followers food in the jungles.

*Sarwar.*—Nay : the forest folk, for saving  
Of their lives, God's mercy craving  
Prayed together, and God's answer  
Was the oak bud's shooting.

*Dānī.*—When the saints, their long fast breaking,  
Ate the kids ; then, each part taking,  
Thou wert lord, the broken making  
Whole. \* But who gave life ? \* Thou giving  
Each back to its mother.

*Sarwar.*—'Tis not true, but false, thy story :  
'Tis not mine, but God's, the glory :  
He gave life, when saints in concert  
Prayed each for the other.

*Dānī.*—Being great, canst thou be lowly ?  
Wouldst be evil that art holy ?  
Help me, saint ! Oh why beguile me,  
My fair hopes to smother ?

And moreover Dānī said, "When Nāma the dyer,† who was of low caste, perchance killed a cow with his bundle of clothes, he restored it to life, and God appeared unto Dhannā, the Jatt,‡ from within the image. What ! Art thou not even such an one as these ?" Then spake Sarwar—

The monarch in his vengeful power  
Sought of Nāma's life the flower :  
Nām saved the cow, because his hour  
Was not come ; death taketh only  
At his hour the oldest.

Dhannā's vision was his earning :  
Nām restored the cow by learning  
God's will : he, times seventy bathing  
When the year was coldest,  
Bade the calf suck, for of courtiers  
He, being strong, was boldest. §

And when he had said this, the saint sprinkled holy water over Dānī, and she thereafter, being insensible, neither saw nor

\* The story is that when Sarwar's followers had eaten the kids of the flock, Sarwar took all the bones and the skins and put them in a heap and restored them all to life by praying. This is one of the miracles he performed at Mūltān.

† Nāma Chhīmā or Nāmdēv—a Bhagat—said to have been the first Mahrattī poet. He flourished about 1450 A. D. He is one of the writers of the *Adi Granth*, and his verses in it are probably the oldest

of that compilation.

‡ Dhannā, one of the Bhagats, also mixed up with the *Adi Granth*, Nothing more seems to be known about him : he was a disciple of Kabīr.

§ I have two short songs, one in Panjabi about Dhannā, and one in Hindi (? Mahrattī) about Nāmā, illustrative of the incidents here referred to. They are said to be contained in the *Adi Granth*, but I cannot find them there or any reference to them.

heard nor spake anything more. Then Sakhi Sarwar said the morning prayer and began to intercede for Dâni—

Then great Sarwar, pity feeling,  
At the throne of God down kneeling,  
Made prayer unto Him, who only  
Can give gifts for praying.

And thus prayed he, "My good and my evil repute is with Thee ; if the child die, then will my repute be evil, but if he live, then will it become good"—

Came an angel swiftly bringing  
Life from God : the child, upspringing,  
With the new life to him given,  
Like a child 'gan playing.

In the morning, when the attendant opened the door of the sanctuary, Dâni awoke from her swoon, and then, for fear he might ask her why she had remained all night in the sanctuary and had not gone out, she went out quietly by another door, for she knew that her child had become alive again. And when the attendant went into the sanctuary, he saw a child playing there, and, taking him up in his arms, he called out with a loud voice, "Whose child is this that was left in the sanctuary all night ?" Then Dâni, hearing his voice, came quickly and said :—"The child is mine." Then spake he :

*Attendant.*—Fool and mad, before I show him  
Tell the marks by which you know him.  
*Dani.*—Ring-pierced ears, zone silver-beaded,  
Ear-rings that are golden.  
Saint of Nigâh, \* for thy mercy  
How am I beholden !

Then the attendant gave the child unto her, since she had rightly explained the marks of the child.

Cried the people, "For the glory  
Of the saint tell now thy story."  
Till at last made Dâni answer  
By much asking driven.  
"At great Râuâ's Trees G-d's Angel  
Called my son to heaven :  
For the shrine my offering leaving  
Came I then to Sarwar grieving,  
And to me my son in mercy  
Hath good Sarwar given."

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\* Nigâh for Nigâhâ : in the text— wâlyâ," the Saint of Nigâhâ.  
Sarwar is here called "Pîr Nigâh-

#### ART. IV.—OUR JOINT FAMILY ORGANISATION.

THE relations between the rich\* and the poor have engaged the attention of men from the dawn of our social life. But from the Agrarian laws of Rome down to the Irish land bill, no European solution appears hitherto to have given full satisfaction even in the Western world; for none has yet stood the test of time, the only test which, despite the unrest of so-called liberalism, really proves that an institution is adapted to the society where it is introduced. It must doubtless have occurred to many, that the joint family organisations of India are one sort of solution of the problem in question. The Hindus, however, have been pronounced an unprogressive people; and, though their history is wanting, and no one knows when their civilization began, yet their institutions are assumed to be primitive, uninfluenced by experience of circumspection, and unadapted to any wants of the kind now being felt elsewhere in human society. A Hindu, I suppose, may be pardoned, if he thinks it odd that, while the progress of his ancestors in philosophy, literature and arts is eloquently applauded, all credit is coolly withheld from them for forethought, patience, perseverance or charity in respect of their social institutions. We are, however, now concerned with the results of those institutions, regarded as social experiments, rather than with the praise or gratitude of those who enjoy or criticise the fruits of unrecorded history. Although the history of the origin and development of joint family life is unknown, yet a slow and carefully directed evolution, rather than a haphazard and spontaneous growth, may be presumed from the fact that the Hindus of to-day look upon the five sons of Pandu and the four sons of Dasarath as model members of joint family society. And this partiality for the institution, coupled with its well-known vitality, will I think fairly entitle the system to be weighed in the same scale with more recent schemes intended to bridge the gulf between the rich and the poor. We have all read of St. Simonism, Fourierism, co-operation, peasant proprietorship and nationalisation of land. But I have not had the good fortune to meet with a close investigation of the capabilities of the joint family organisation, or of the conditions indispensable to its success.

I should, however, once for all abjure all claims on behalf of this institution to anything like faultlessness. On the contrary, I might have freely called it a failure, but that sober experience has taught me to suspend judgment and look in our ancient institutions

far more than is visible at first sight, rather than to echo the condemnation of those foreigners who cannot be expected to know much of our social affairs. On the other hand, the defective education of English-speaking Bengalis seems to me to disqualify them in a large measure for a due appreciation of their own affairs and social barriers of a still graver kind shut out from them the domestic economy of those who are their only available models. However that may be, even the blemishes of the joint family system require, I think, a careful study, as much for the guidance of those who have to work out its future history, as for the information of those who feel concerned in our welfare, or at least in the great question of questions, the poor. If communism is a mistake, the experience of the Hindus in one form of the system should not, I venture to think, be passed over without being made to yield its lesson.

The joint family organisations of this country may be classed under two heads, which may be conveniently termed the Mitak'hara and the Bengal systems, and which represent perhaps successive stages in the history of one and the same institution. I am not a lawyer, and do not pretend to have studied the legal questions which appertain to the subject. I would not therefore presume to offer a synopsis of this branch of the Hindu Law, which is accessible to all in well-known treatises of unquestioned merit. It would, no doubt, be desirable to examine how far the recent case-law on the subject, has modified the original character of the Hindu Law; in what direction the changes have been moving, and how far they may be justified by considerations of public policy, the cause of progress, or the political condition of this country. But, in the absence of professional knowledge, I can only try to give expression to some ideas touching the social and moral bearings of the institution as suggested to me by my experience as a layman.

The essential principle of the organisation is that *all the incomes of the members shall be put into the same stock and then distributed according to the wants of each*. If there are three members—A, B, C, respectively contributing, say Rs. 500, Rs. 250 and nothing to the common stock, A shall not for that reason have any higher claims than B or C, as regards the quantity or quality of creature comforts in which the total Rs. 750 may be laid out. A cannot say that his wardrobe shall be twice as rich as B's, or that C shall go on foot, while A or A and B have the exclusive use of the carriage belonging to the family. (I ought to mention here that I am thinking of a state of things which was more widely prevalent some 25 years ago than now, and which even now is less uncommon in the mofussil than

in Calcutta). And the same principle seems to be observed in the rule or practice that, when, on the breaking up of the joint estate, A, B and C part from one another, they divide their common savings, not according to their several contributions, but according to their respective rights of inheritance as derived from a common ancestor. What I have said above may lead one to think that in the joint household C, at best, enjoys equal rights with A and B. But the truth is that sometimes C may actually consume more than the rest, while contributing to the common wealth nothing which possesses an exchange-value. If C happens to have half a dozen children, while A has none: or, to take a worse case, if B has a couple of wives, while A is content to remain a widower, every one of C's children would be entitled to as many and as valuable comforts as any of B's, and no one would grudge the second wife of B, any fueries which B's first wife, or C's wife, enjoyed, or which A's wife, if alive, would have enjoyed. Thus it seems that the joint family system fully upholds the communistic principle, so much at variance with the doctrines of exclusive property rights, that every member is bound to contribute his labor in the measure of his abilities, but is entitled to consume its fruits only in the measure of his needs.

A man's labour, as a rule, yields more than he can consume, and leaves in consequence a surplus which in fact is the nucleus of the world's capital. It is this surplus which is at once man's blessing and his curse. But for it we should have nothing to spare for those whom we love, pity or owe to; and not much to scramble for between man and man. Different men, however, regard this surplus with different feelings. If one says, "I shall keep it all to myself, or, if I be not allowed, I shall cease to work at all, and will make of myself a burden upon the rest of society," another may be found, as if actuated by the idea, "I have had enough to consume from what I have raised; the surplus I shall leave to those who best deserve it." But, taking people even so extreme as these, no one, I think, can venture to say that one or the other shall not be. It would probably be as unsound to condemn the excessive charity of the one, as it would be dangerous to maintain that the extreme selfishness of the other should be repressed by coercive measures. And it thus remains a moot question how far communism, or exclusive ownership of property, stands from the golden mean—the ideal system of property.

But the peculiarity of the joint family organisation consist in this, that the members interested in the commonwealth are actuated, not so much by a regard for their personal or material



advantages whether in the present or in the future, as by a natural or disciplined attachment for the blood tie and the moral bond of affection. And of these even the historical association underlying the blood tie has, it must be admitted, an ennobling effect upon the mind as compared with a bare communistic or industrial longing for the maximum of creature comforts at the minimum outlay of capital. In judging of the Hindu's attachment for his kinsmen and other relations, one has to bear in mind, not only the mutual assistance for the support of life and the charitable provision for widows, which are the normal conditions of joint families, but also the great strain which the system is capable of sustaining in times of trouble and affliction. Any one familiar with the Hindus' modes of thinking and feeling, will bear testimony to how intolerable he feels it in times of illness to have no better services than those of a hired nurse, or of the attendants of a hospital. I, for one, shall not easily forget the forlorn appearance of an English gentleman's sick chamber, who, by the way, was putting up with his brother at the time. Not that there was anything particular to be found fault with, but I only say that the loneliness was shocking to me. It may not be our good fortune to have a Sister Dora to worship in actual life. But it should be known that no small-pox patient is ever forsaken in a Hindu joint family, and that many of our widows—the unburnt Suttees of our own day—who count by the score, are diminutive Doras, each within her little world.

The provisions of the institution called Life or Fire Assurance are not quite intelligible to a Hindu. A man makes a periodical contribution, and gets insured a certain return, which may exceed or fall short of his actual contribution by a considerable amount. The probabilities of gain and loss are set off one against the other, but a Hindu often fails to perceive that there is always a balance left in favour of the assurer. The more adventurous soul of the European reckons the certainties of human providence against the uncertain "acts of God"; and subordinates his present privations, I allude to the regular pecuniary contributions, to the fund of mental elasticity secured thereby. But apart from these divergent claims of the present and of the future upon the individual assurer, the institution regulates also the apparently conflicting claims of different assurers, though these ulterior aims, viewed from a common and lofty stand-point, often fail to present themselves to the generality of people. If one assurer pays more than he, or his heir, eventually gets back, the surplus virtually goes to the pocket of another assurer or his heir, who may have become entitled to more than the actual

amount credited to his account; the latter gaining in fact what the former loses. Some redistribution of this kind, of the funds contributed, is essential to the assurance system, in so far as it differs from that of ordinary banking. Most people, however, would perhaps regret, or at all events, shut their eyes to the truth, if they perceived it, though in reality it seems to be the greatest merit of the assurance system that what would be loss to one and gain to another from the banking point of view, are adjusted in that system exactly according to the superfluities, i. e., the surplus contributions of one assurer and the necessities or deficiencies of the other. The assurance system ignores all equality between the contribution and the return. The former is lost or sunk equally by all assurers. But those who administer the affairs of the system know that its success depends upon an equality between the aggregate of what some assurers eventually lose, and that of what other assurers eventually gain. There must be a disregard for the capital sunk by the one section, in order to ensure what benefit the other section gains, and what both sections equally desire, from the system. There is thus a fund of disciplined charity in the assurance system which needs only to be duly recognised in order to grow into a living virtue. But this charity, even when missed in people's hearts, is not the less real on the part of all those who by their contributions practically render the most powerful support to the cause.

Even so in joint family life, people often overlook the charitable provision which the communistic principle of the system makes for the low and the inefficient. A vivid sense of kindness on the one hand, and of gratitude on the other, may often be absent, alike in the Assurance and joint family systems. But a feeling of kinship is certainly present in the latter, and I believe in a far larger measure than any kindred feeling (*e.g., esprit de corps*), which so far, as I am aware, may be traced in the former.

It may be deemed hard that a man should go on contributing Rs. 500 in cash where he received back only Rs. 250 in comforts, and perhaps a lot of troubles in the bargain, from a number of idle drones. But I suppose the strict penalties attached to the assurance system are felt to be equally hard at times; and the hedonistic question itself is virtually here in issue. The true recommendation of either institution is a charitable provision for *some* of its constituents: and the charity is a systematized and involuntary one in the one case, quite as much as it is in the other. After all it is true of every form of society that the interests of the community over-ride those of the individual; and he who fails to keep his mind in accord with this condition, lacks an idea and a feeling, which are indispensable to the life of man as a moral and a social being. It does not matter much if a man has the hardihood to

say, "I don't care for society : " that would not make him the loss a debtor to society : the forbearance shown to an undetected robber does not create privileges in favor of vice or crime. The surplus yield of a man's labor, howsoever disposed of by society, for its own interests, has necessarily the warranty of the producer's consent. And he may not seek to upset society by putting forth his own conflicting claims all of a sudden. What we really have to consider is,—to what extent the feeling of kinship, underlying the joint family system, may be fostered by training, and how far, being so fostered, the feeling may enable each man to work out the ends of the system ; and how far the ends themselves may be desirable in the eyes of the best specimens of human kind. If A and B voluntarily part with their superfluities for the sake of C, and if B and C's shortcomings are due to defects which they cannot get over, defects, again, with which perhaps no one in the world but A and B would sympathise, we may, to say the least, spare our regrets for A's waste of energy till better days come to prevail on earth. There is no doubt that if a foolish jealousy—unfortunately but too common—should lead the most efficient individuals to seek from the entity—joint family—the same advantages which are derived by their less efficient brethren, in reality from themselves, but apparently from the institution, there is no doubt that in such a contingency the resources of the institution would be soon exhausted. No institution on earth could sustain the strain, if *all* its constituents should seek to derive from it the *utmost* advantages available from it under every recognised rule of equity. Some must forego a portion in order that certain others may partake of it, or the average cannot be realised in life. Men's miseries are undoubtedly mostly of their own making ; but so long as people do not complain of those whose burdens they have to share, it is not for others to wake up a sleeping selfishness by raising the question of misapplied charity. It is hard indeed to lift man's struggle for existence above the category of that of the brute. And where justice is not sought for, upon grounds permissible in the recognised order of things, the so-called even-handed blessing may well be left to the aggregate of men's ungoverned selfishnesses struggling for mastery. Where joint families are the rule, the administrators of justice had better take care how a communism already established is unsettled by crude principles of political economy unknown and foreign to the people.

We have supposed the simplest case, to set forth the essential conditions of the joint family organisation. As we advance, however, in complexity, we shall find traces of difficulties which seem to be inevitable.

But these difficulties can be obviated neither by deliberate neglect

nor by hasty condemnation of the system. We must assume, for the sake of discussion at least, that the system is generally right, and that the difficulties occurring in it, impose upon subsequent experience the onerous responsibility of slow and tedious reformation, and not the impatient remedy of hasty and sweeping revolution. A, B, C have been supposed to derive their contributions from personal labor and to be attached to one another by blood relation and a domestic affection. We have, in fact, supposed the case of what in Hindu Law is contradistinguished as self-acquired from ancestral property. The communistic principle previously alluded to is present in both, though the tendency of the case-law, so far as I am aware, has been to show greater disfavor to that principle in the case of self-acquired than in that of ancestral property. But the tendency of the courts cannot be characterised as good or bad until the question of communism is fully solved. I for one am not in favor of communism; but I am loath to slight the wisdom of those who have up to the present moment supported that principle in this country by legislation and still more, by their conduct in life. If, besides, communism cannot be renounced in the case of ancestral property, it would become a serious question why the homogeneity between the two kinds of property should not be maintained. In regard to ancestral property there is a deal of difference between the Mitak'hara and the Bengal systems; the latter being in fact, less communistic in principle than the former. In the Mitak'hara system the son holds a coparcenary right with the father, whereas in Bengal the latter, but for his womanly tenderness, might disencumber his house of his grown-up sons and all their family.

I must notice here what seems to be a singular fact in this connexion: The modification of the communistic principle in Bengal took place long before the British Government took up the Dewanny functions of administering justice. Since then, it is well known, the process of change has been further advanced by recognition of the power of making testamentary provision for succession. But the way in which the people chose to exercise this power indicates, I think, the character of the nation, if not the inadaptability of the case-law, and afterwards the statute law, on the subject. Some of the wealthiest Bengalis sought to create perpetuities. Now I am quite aware that a perpetuity is only a source of future trouble. But there can be no doubt that those who wanted to create perpetuities were only anxious that, even the most inefficient of their successors should not be deprived of the benefit of the bequests. This anxiety involves, I think, the very same principle of communism which underlies the

Mitak'hara law regarding ancestral property, and which was modified in Bengal by the Dáyabhág, before the interference of British Government. In other words, we see here that, however some of our ancestors thought fit to reject the communistic principle of property, as between father and son, the people themselves, the moment they found an opening, returned to the Mitak'hara system, though in a modified form. And though the Hindu Wills Act seems to have satisfied the conscience of our legislature, it is nevertheless a question whether the popular feeling, thus withstood, has not, in consequence, been driving some at least of my countrymen to an evil of a far graver kind: I mean the immorality of creating fictitious endowments to idols, an immorality which is no less pernicious for the abuse of the people's own religion, since the worship in such cases is no better than nominal, than for the falsehood and disloyalty incidental to the way in which the law is set aside.

While noticing this revival of the Mitak'hara system in the shape of perpetuities and sham endowments, it may not be out of place to mention how the joint family system, dissolved by the force of external circumstances alone, re-appears in another, and to the Hindu a peculiarly ludicrous, form. The rule of partition, it should be remembered, is foreign to the communistic principle, as well as to the natural affection underlying the joint family system. British courts of justice, however, offer the fullest facilities for partition: the responsibility and consequent authority of the heads of families, and the loyalty of the subordinate members, requisite under the circumstances and for the entire fabric of our society, are completely ignored, and for no other reason than a more or less blind regard for the right of each individual to the full measure of the wealth he may have acquired or inherited. I call it blind regard, for its soundness turns entirely upon what doctrine of property is upheld. Be that as it may, as matters now stand, the joint family system finds very little external support, and is dissolved as soon as the more efficient members become oppressed by a sense of their own importance, or their personal material interests, otherwise called a duty to self. Not oftener the anomaly, to be noticed further on, in the position of the wife as a wife and as a member of the subordinate section of the family—viz., the zenana—acts as a potent cause in the dissolution of the corporation. It is well known that this dissolution has no moral effect upon the society since the members, immediately after dissolution, begin to set up fresh organisations of the same kind. But this radical incongruity between the natural partialities of the people and a state of law which supports a contrary predilection becomes absolutely ludicrous to a Hindu when a brother

parting from brother for the sake of the wife, takes into the family the brothers of his wife. The fraternal relation is absolutely irrepressible. But the young man of the period prefers to transform the nucleus of the domestic organisation into a queen bee!

Let us now pass on to the question of ancestral property and the Mitak'hara system. Suppose that A, B and C, have three undefined shares in a property of this kind: B has two sons, C half a dozen, and A none at all. According to the Mitak'hara system the coparcenary right of the sons accrues from their very birth, but the shares of A, B and C being undefined, those of the sons must also bear the same character. So long as the sons are infants, they only serve to increase the expenses of the body. But after a time they render efficient help, and even repay their aged fathers with their savings. They then really join the community. But the law, by supposing a continuity of their right from the moment of birth, serves to impart to father and son a communistic relation in respect of ancestral property: a relation the same in kind as that formed between brothers who put their self-acquired property into a common stock and propose to live in joint family; thus in the present case we find the minor sons in much the same position as the inefficient drone C in the previous one; and that the common wealth is liable to be divided on occasion in unequal shares. The parallel, however, extends to the same process—namely, rule of partition—being available in both cases for dissolution of the society.

So long as every member of a joint family contributes to the common fund in proportion to his actual abilities, any disproportion between production, or income, and consumption will pass unnoticed. But the moment one member falls short of the requisite quantity of labor, or contribution, or goes beyond some vaguely understood limit as to consumption, there is sown a seed of jealousy and discord between him and the rest. The trouble may arise in various ways. It may be, that the aggregate consumption swallows up the aggregate income so as really to cause distress or alarm. Again, some real blemish in character, as for instance, a want of honesty in the member objected to, is often a fruitful source of disquiet, and lastly, that member may have simply lost his former hold upon the affection and kindness of the rest in consequence of the historical association of the blood tie having become faint. Human powers are frail. All men have not the same capacity for labor and production: the tie of blood is loosened as we count from the common ancestor an increasing number of generations: children cause a great drain upon food supply, and, despite the best efforts of communism, both they and the food consumed by them are fathered upon their parents.

When people fail to make the two ends meet, the necessity for retrenchment is sure at times to overpower the kindest feelings. And the apprehension that this will soon be the case often leads the burdensome member to make up by fraud or concealment for what already he knows himself to have fallen short in. These drawbacks are simply inevitable. A modern corporation would perhaps seek to meet them by providing suitable penalties and watchful supervision. The necessary conditions would then be carefully defined: each member would be required to forego at times his personal feelings for the sake of the common cause and to keep a strict watch over his defaulting brethren, and an elaborate organisation and procedure would be framed for the purpose. The Hindu, however, appears to have set apart all such complex measures for the larger organisation of caste and to have perceived their unfitness for domestic society. He has accordingly made no more than the following provisions:—

In the first place, he defined the shares of individual members by a law of succession. In other words, he excluded some for the sake of the rest from enjoyment of the commonwealth. For instance, the daughter. He next seems to have found it necessary to provide for a breaking-up of the society. But whether from especial regard for the institution in the abstract, or by reason of long-acquired attachment to the form of society, he seems to have taken care that the broken fragments should resemble the original organisation. And, as a last step, it would seem the Hindu transformed the Mitak'hara into the Bengal system by a modification in respect of the son's succession. I am not concerned just now to establish a chronological relation between these several measures. But their logical filiation seems to be plain enough. The provision for partition has for its condition precedent a definition of shares, as involved in the law of succession. The material question, therefore, in this connexion is whether the joint family organisation ever could, or did, exist without a definition of shares; and, if so, how did the law of succession originate, and who were excluded thereby? I think some evidence may be laid hold of, leading to a bare presumption, at best, that a law of succession did exist even when no shares would seem to have been defined. But I would rather not lay much stress upon such evidence here. I would only maintain that a law of succession, defining the shares of respective heirs, is not indispensable to an organisation like the Mitak'hara system. On the contrary, I think it signifies a departure from the communistic principle. Moreover, succession might be determined simply by the rule of survivorship, the principle which applies to many corporate bodies even now. And if survivorship would account for the

known facts, I may be justified in assuming a later origin for a law of succession which again would be meaningless, unless it excluded some of the survivors from the community.

The Hindu law of succession comprises two elements : an order of succession and a definition of the shares of co-heirs. The order of succession establishes, indeed, the priority of sons over grandsons, and of grandsons over great-grandsons, and so forth. But the principle of survivorship appears to have been departed from, when it was provided that a grandson should represent his deceased father, as co-heir with his uncles, in respect of his grand-father's patrimony. A limit, however, is assigned in respect of the heirs of the great-grandson on the one hand, and of the great-grandfather on the other, beyond whom succession in this direct order does not go. The family communism under the Mitak'hara system was thus confined to three generations above, and three below the proprietor, or seven generations in all. That, therefore, may be understood as the maximum limit of Indian communism. It will be remembered that in the Mitak'hara system the son acquires his right to inherit from the time of his birth, so that he is at first a coparcener, and eventually a successor to the remainder of his father's ancestral property. The provision for the son's coparcenership was probably called for at a time when his ultimate succession by survivorship was a matter of course, and did not require any specific law. How the daughter was disposed of under this state of things, and what provision used then to be made for her husband and sons may well be left an open question. But it seems to be quite clear that the law of succession, though it did not altogether lose sight of the daughter and her family, was particularly cautious, lest they should invade the rights of the seven consecutive generations comprising the Hindu family community. The daughter and her sons were not to succeed until three consecutive generations below, and three such above the proprietor, all failed to be available for succession by survivorship. And the Mitak'hara system further provides that, if the proprietor left as survivors any undivided brothers, cousins or nephews, they should succeed in preference to the daughter; this is called succession by survivorship. And this shows clearly, I think, that the daughter's succession was something like a last resort; or in other words, that the authors of the law of succession, although not unconscious of the claims of the daughter were particularly anxious to exclude her and her family from any equal rights with sons, brothers, and other members of the joint family organisation.

The fact that the daughter was to become a member of a *different* family, somehow or other must have come into prominence when the principle of survivorship was supplemented by a special law of succession. And the communism of the family



appears to have been then defined and restricted in accordance with the altered state of things. An important branch of the tree was evidently lopped off for the nourishment of another; and it is natural to presume that that other was regarded as the main trunk. There was, however, an exception made: the branch in question was in a particular case not to be lopped off, and the daughter in that case was to succeed in preference to the brother. This exception was made for the case when the brother had been already living separate; and the provision clearly indicates that a law of partition had already come into use on some previous date. The order of events was probably this: the primitive principle of succession by right of survivorship preceded the son's coparcenary relations with his father. Next came the law of succession, the limitation of the family to seven generations, and the exclusion of the daughter, and daughter's sons from equal right as co-survivors with sons. At the third step we perhaps had the law of partition between brothers, and, lastly, the priority of daughters over brothers in the case of separated families. The principles of natural affection and communism would, upon this hypothesis, seem to have been successively upheld and rejected, showing that social difficulties, the same in kind with those which now exist, had occurred in the past and were met by a sober compromise in each case.

An attempt to define who shall be entitled to a right signifies that all but they shall be excluded from it. The definition of the son's coparcenary rights, therefore, must have signified some process of exclusion, just as the definition of his heritable rights evidently denoted the exclusion of the daughter.

Here again we may perceive, as I imagine, a link between communism as restricted to the seven generations of the family and as extending over a larger unit, as for instance, the *gotra* or the village. When a whole village community worked in common at tillage, there could be no great need for lotting out the lands to smaller groups like the family. The son's coparcenary right would in that case not need to be clearly defined. It would follow as a matter of course. But when for some reason the interests of the family community came to diverge from those of the village or *gotra* community—when for instance, the husband and children of the daughter, however intimate to the family, came to be regarded as strangers to the village community—then, perhaps, was set up a claim by the father himself for a separate plot of land for his son. And hence, it may be supposed, a clear definition of the son's coparcenary right was necessitated shortly after the exclusion of the daughter's family from the village community.

This, however, is remote from my subject here. What I have to notice is the pressure which must have been laid upon people's feelings when they were led virtually to disinherit the daughter for the sake of the son. Primitive people are generally credited with a more impulsive nature than their cultivated descendants. If, then, the impulse to disinherit the daughter was at any time felt with peculiar intensity in order to preserve the integrity of the family, or the interests of the village community, it must also have cost some minds at least as great a pain in carrying out the scheme to suppress natural affection for the sake of communal interests. That the Hindus were not disregarding of the sentimental elements in the organisation is clearly evident from the fact that the law of partition did not lead to a complete dissolution of the family organisation.

Allusion has already been made to an earlier connexion between the village system and the Mitak'hara family system. But, whether by reason of a process of natural evolution, or a still more conscious action, the fragments of the family organisation fully retained the old joint character, though they were considerably reduced in numeric strength. It might, indeed, be expected that when the joint family system was found intolerable, whether in the Mitak'hara or the Bengal system, the separated members would decide upon a new departure and give up the communism in all its phases. Those belonging to the Bengal system might accordingly be expected to break off the existing moral relation between father and grown-up sons, so that when the former died the latter should not be left together under the same roof, and thus led to start anew the same old joint society between brothers. So again, the separated members of a Mitak'hara family might fairly be expected to follow in the wake of the Bengal system. It would, I think, be too much to assume that such courses never occurred to the minds of those who managed their own affairs and had besides the same experience of the joint family system which we now possess. But that our ancestors preferred the communism seems to show, I think, that in their judgment its evils were counterbalanced by its benefits.

In order to understand the comparatively later provisions for partition and separation in joint families, we must first examine the position of the wife and the widow within the family organisation. The widow possesses only a heritable right both in the Mitak'hara and the Bengal systems; and in the former she is denied anything beyond a right to maintenance, unless her deceased husband happened to have separated from the community. In the Bengal system her interest is comparatively larger; nevertheless it is smaller than that of the son, and perhaps even

than that of the daughter. The widow's right to maintenance is, in fact, the minimum allowance imaginable under the circumstances, short of her absolute exclusion from, or her marriage with a surviving member of, the family. If now we look a step behind, and trace the history of the widow in the condition of the wife, we find, it is true, that the latter is entitled to her *stridhan*, but, that as a member of the family community, she has to be looked upon as being on equal footing only with other married women. Before a law of succession was defined, the husband had nothing definite to share with his wife, and unless the married women could be given coparcenary rights in the common property of the family, which was evidently out of the question, I do not see that they could possibly be allowed anything more than a bare maintenance.

It is necessary here to divest ourselves of much of the ideas associated with the Christian as opposed to the Hindu family. A joint family, necessarily divides itself either into two groups, one composed of men, and the other of women, or into a number of groups, each comprising, one man and his wife. View the units in the latter aspect, and you find a number of Christian families formed into a club which virtually takes away from the homogeneous character of the whole as *one* family. There is certainly a tendency at the present moment towards this result, but judging from experience I should say that it impairs the Hindu-family-feeling between the subordinate units so as to deprive the joint family system of its essential charm. We have, therefore, to look upon the members as two, and only two groups, a zenana and a body of male coparceners. And then the question arises, what is the relation between these two collective bodies. They must be either equal or unequal. And the Hindus appear at first to have decided to sink the woman into her husband, as if to disallow her a distinct and independent existence.

The question is, I think, the same in kind with what now agitates all Europe and America. What is the position of the woman? Is she only a member—a fraction—of the family, regarded as the unit of society, or is she a member of the much larger group—womankind, as contrasted with the opposite sex in their collective capacity? The individual is always subordinate to the community, and when two such communities as mankind and womankind have to assert any divergent interests, the members of each must ignore their domestic relations with those of the other.

When, therefore, the wife clings to womankind rather than to the family, she must either destroy the collective character of the family in order to set up that of womankind, or she must stand aloof in order to organise a community of unmarried women

distinct both from the family and womankind. The suppression of the softer sex, hard as it is said to be, is to a certain extent one of the necessary results of our social existence. Human society must be formed into a systematic whole and the component parts arranged into harmonious relations. Should the component parts, however, be left disconnected, their divergence and antagonism in respect of one another would inevitably develop in the course of time.

So in Hindu society, regard being had to the communal interests of the whole family, the interests of the wife and of the widow have been reduced to a minimum. I do not mean to defend the existing Hindu usages. I point only to the relations of the phenomena as I believe them to exist. It is of course a question whether the material interests of woman as an individual or as a member of womankind should or should not be subordinated, as they are subordinated, whether we look to the human race or only to our own joint family life. But once it is admitted that human society means an aggregate of families and not of individuals, or that the Hindu joint family comprises two groups—viz., a coparcenary body of males and a zenana,—the claims of family necessarily become merged into those of the whole human race, in the one case, and the claims of the zenana become merged into the interests of the joint family in the other, the claims of womankind and its units, individual women, being thus reduced to secondary importance in comparison. It is also a further question whether or not a family composed of a single couple should form the unit of society without any intermediate grouping of several such families into a joint family of brothers or kinsmen, or, a community of co-operatives, or socialists. But so long as this last named question remains undetermined, the priority assigned to the common interests of the joint family necessarily reduces the partial interests of the wife and the widow to a minimum.

The wife, therefore, has her *stridhan* and her maintenance, besides what she may obtain in common with her sister members from the dominant section of male coparceners in the joint family corporation. And the widow's maintenance thus partakes of the nature of a right by survivorship. As a wife she got her maintenance, and maintenance she gets when she survives her husband. But when her husband happens to have parted from the rest and to form the sole male member of the family, she obtains a priority over her husband's kinsmen because there she is the sole survivor of the family such as it is. And as widow marriages were not allowed, her portion did not exceed what is called her life-interest.

The wife's *stridhan* brings us back to the question of the daughter's rights, as contrasted with her mother's. As a member of the joint family, the wife or the widow is differentiated from the male members for reasons we have already discussed. But it is not only the case that she has no coparcenary relations with the male section, she has none such even with her sister members of the zenana. The zenana is not a corporate body. If, therefore, the wife or the widow happens to have any property distinct from the rest, it cannot be as joint owner with the male or female members of the family. And if a wife and widow may have separate property, the daughter would be allowed to have it likewise. Woman therefore is allowed to have what is called her *stridhan* in Hindu Law. In the case of a Christian family such rights would perhaps be fatal to the common interests of the husband and the wife in their collective capacity. But in the larger organisation of the joint family, *stridhan* is a matter of comparative insignificance. In a Christian family, the wife has the right to have her debts paid by her husband, and the conjugal relation carries with it a particular form of partnership. In the Hindu family the coparcenary relation between brother and brother, or father and son, is never extended to husband and wife.

It has been to me an important though unsettled question whether, before the law of succession came to be definitely settled, the daughter and her family did not continue to be members of the parent family and also of the parent village. But I do not think it would tax our ingenuity much to suppose that, when the daughter came to be married into another family, she could not be deprived of what personalities she had previously acquired.

Thus we find that a joint family differentiates into a body of male members and a zenana, the latter being devoid of any corporate character. The fact further signifies that woman necessarily holds a subordinate position, and that the wife is regarded less as her husband's partner than as one of the zenana. In this way the wife and the widow are supposed to have become entitled to no more than maintenance from the family, but at the same time to hold separate property. The daughter, too, has her *stridhan*, though she is at first deprived of all further rights in the family property. By and by, however, the face of affairs is changed, and, the husband being allowed the right of partition, the widow's and the daughter's right of succession is naturally developed. The strain upon the father's feelings, owing to the exclusion of the daughter from inheritance, thus appears ultimately to snap the communal tie, so that the daughter and the widow at last obtain a priority over the divided survivors of the family.

Possibly, if the suppression of the sex could be enforced

with still greater persistence, the claims of the widow and the daughter would have been overlooked even when the man came to feel less affection for his brothers and cousins than for his wife and daughter. Possibly in such a case, the principle of communism might be upheld with rigorous strictness. But the Hindus have not followed up their communistic scheme in this manner. The material tie of property-relations, though strongly supported, has not always had from them, a prior regard over the moral bond of conjugal and paternal affection. It is, however, a fact that, so long as the joint family remains undivided, the conjugal relation has to be subordinated to the communal relation. Nevertheless, I think, it is creditable to the Hindu that this communal relation is enlivened by paternal, fraternal and filial affection. And this is carried to such an extent, that conjugal affection can hardly find any thing but a subordinate place in the heart of the Hindu man. But the anomaly recurs in another shape when the father and the brother regard the daughter, and the sister respectively as strangers, whereas the mother and the daughter are found at times to cling to one another with greater fondness than the former does towards her son or husband, and the latter toward her father or her husband's family. The anomaly is, of course, due to the truth, not generally recognised, that a moral tie, however overpowered for the time by conflicting claims of a material kind, is sure to recur again and again in the long run until at last it is brought into harmony with all our intellectual and social conditions.

We find this curiously instanced in the modification effected by the Bengal system over that of Mitak'hara families. In the latter, we know there is a coparcenary relation between father and son in addition to one of inheritance. The latter accrues after the father's death, but the former may be enforced even during his lifetime. We thus find the moral relation between father and son supplemented by their common self-regard for the ancestral property. The father and the son, even apart from their natural affection, would feel interested in preserving their communal relations, since otherwise consumption might be increased to the detriment of the surplus accumulations. I am inclined to think that this abnormal divergence from the conditions of natural affection may have had something to do with some joint claims of the father and son upon the village community. ~~But~~ whatever the past history of the fact may have been, we can see in the society around us that the father and the son do not lose their moral hold upon one another in the Bengal system, because their coparcenary relation has ceased to exist. Thus also, we see that a community of interests, however serviceable in

evoking mutual assistance in the absence of a moral tie, may be safely dispensed with where the moral tie has been established upon a sound basis. Indeed, for all the changes now in progress towards the disruption of the Hindu family, and for all young Bengal's desire to part from penniless brothers and antiquated fathers, I have not yet met with any specimen of this brave fraternity who was prepared to part for good with his own grown-up sons and daughters-in-law.

Turning now to the results of the communal system in this country, I do not think there can be any question that it has had the great merit of securing for the infirm and the inefficient, the assistance of their kinsmen :—and that this end is attained without degrading the former into beggarly relations with the latter. I shall dwell upon this point a little further on. Meantime, however, we see that woman's position in the joint family has remained very anomalous. As subordinate to a group of men, she has received what, in spite of current opinion, I shall venture to call a valuable moral discipline. But her feelings in respect of her husband, son, daughter, father, brother, father-in-law and mother-in-law, are subjected to such diverse action, that her character has become liable to many unexpected variations. Whenever a screw get loose in our domestic machinery, any of these feelings may get the uppermost in her mind. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the husband suffers seriously by having to subordinate his moral relations with his wife to his material relations with the rest of the male members of the family community. Nothing, I think, so clearly establishes the superiority of the Hindu woman to the Hindu man as the fact that, whereas the former has already proved herself equal to the martyrdom of the suttee, and still repels, as ludicrously ignoble, a learned pundit's idea of widow re-marriage, the Hindu man is hardly conscious of his moral degradation when, as a widower, he hastens his re-marriage upon considerations of the maximum age of marriage prescribed for girls in our society.

It is possible, however, that, with the spread of sounder ideas, the moral superiority of the woman will be recognised without interfering with her subordination in temporal concerns. But the greatest drawback of our communal system, I think, lies in the interested relations between the male members of the family. And I do not see how the affectionate regard still prevailing between the members for one another can be purified from the natural effects of their common self-regard in their common inheritance. It is unfortunately but too true that self-interest is, after all, but of doubtful strength as a bond of union. But on the other hand, we know that a benevolent regard for others' interests is feebleness and

less common still. There is reason therefore, I fear, to apprehend coming evils.

The indirect influence of Christianity in this country has of late largely tended to reverse the mutual bearings of the communal and fraternal tie on the one side, and the conjugal bond on the other. This is slowly working a revolution in our society which the British public is hardly aware of. It is, however, the same in kind as that which sets the son against the father in asserting his individuality in utter defiance of communal claims and filial duty. The Protestant notions of liberty of conscience may have blinded Englishmen to the pernicious consequences of the revolution in the phasis last alluded to. But in this respect the Hindu discipline of ages will, I hope, survive the present outbreak. For, after all, the son, disposed in his youth to assert his liberty of private judgment as against the father, generally outlives his Millite proclivities, to appreciate, in advanced years, the value of social and domestic discipline in dealing with his own children. The other phasis of the revolution, however, the struggle between conjugal and fraternal relations, is a matter of far greater uncertainty. And I think it behoves all who can afford it, to turn their attention to the subject in order to point out how the ends of a communism so long established may be satisfied consistently with relieving the existing strain upon the conjugal relation of the Hindu.

While upon this point it may not be out of place to mention in some detail, how the moral relations of the joint family with all its advantages, are strained in order to maintain the communal integrity of the family. Firstly, as between the male members, whether cousins, brothers, father, son, or uncle and nephew, the communal relation requires a system of government in which natural affection, *i. e.*, the moral element, being mixed up with, or being perhaps deficient in comparison to, the property-relations, domestic order has to be maintained by a politic management which I am afraid would be revolting to the outspoken candor of all genuine affection. This vitiates not only the relation between comparatively remote kinsmen, but also between father and son, and husband and wife. The fact will, I believe, be brought home better when I say that the Hindu who has obtained even a smattering of English education, misses the soothing and the benign influences of the Christian home, influences which, in fact, the Hindu appears to appreciate, as if from instinct, and even perhaps to exaggerate for want of experience. Our domestic affections arising from joint family life are spread over a larger number than in the largest Christian family. But in some cases, at least, it must, I fear, be admitted that the intensity of our affection bears an inverse relation to its extension.



Whatever the truth may be about the true character of our domestic affection, the governmental relations required by reason of the numeric pressure of our family, tax our ingenuity and energies in a deplorable manner. I would venture to assert that our mutual dealings at the seat of all our best virtues—the home—often partake of the nature of a vile diplomacy, which Europe begins to resent even in international affairs.

Then, the number of women who have to be kept together in the same family renders, I think, a zenana system more or less indispensable to us. I do not know how they manage it in the Madras, and especially in the Bombay Presidency. But when Englishmen criticise this institution, they only disclose their ignorance by overlooking the fact that even within the family there are strict rules about the *parda*. It is sheer nonsense to say that the Mahomedan government is responsible for the *parda* system of the Hindus. Every Hindu knows that the son's wife is bound to keep under *parda* before her father-in-law. And the same rule prevails as between a man and his younger brother's wife. Mahomedans could never have brought about rules like these. The poorer classes, it is said, do not observe any rule of the *parda*; but I think a Hindu might observe its traces mixed up even with the immodesty of native street-walkers. And, in fact, I think, the rules are, after all, wholesome. Conceive for a moment the large number of distant (from a Christian point of view) relations who are thrown together in a Hindu joint family in the seclusion of a private dwelling-house, and it would at once occur to any reasonable man that the men and women should not be too free in visiting one another. A zenana apartment of the family being thus necessitated, it is the exceptions to, and not the observance of, the *parda* which have to be accounted for. And this becomes intelligible enough when we notice the rule that those who have met each other as boys or girls, are freed from the *parda* restriction. The *parda* being requisite within the domestic circle, it is naturally retained, when people can afford it, in respect of outsiders. A woman who is unaccustomed to look her father-in-law or her husband's elder brother in the face, cannot be expected to do so with any friend of the husband, or the father-in-law, or to go out into the public streets where these relations of hers may at any time be met with.

But, inevitable as the *parda* seems to be, it is not the less objectionable on many accounts, and the worst of the evil redounds upon the male members of the family for whose sake, it is supposed, the *parda* is required. The secluded life of our women fills them with such an amount of inexperience and incapacity for business, that their assistance can never be fairly utilised in

administering the affairs of the family. And the result is that where they do not understand and appreciate the objects of the male members, they set up a passive resistance which has an injurious effect as much upon our material as our moral concerns in every-day life.

While dwelling upon the natural relation, as cause and effect, between the joint family system and zenana seclusion, I should not be understood to assert that the opinion is held in common by myself with my countrymen. What has been said above is at best but a supposition, and it should not be taken for more than it is worth. In the same way I am inclined to suppose that there is some sort of natural connexion between the zenana life of our women and the prevailing custom of infant marriages of girls. I believe if all other obstacles to the abolition of these marriages were removed, the necessity would still exist for training up a girl in the ways, not of the husband of her own choosing, but in those of a body of grown-up women with whom she has to associate, with all their virtues and foibles, their ignorance, prejudices and partialities. And this I think would naturally lead people to take her in only before she became too old to accommodate herself to other peoples' ways. The mother-in-law, as members of Christian families know to their cost, is not the most agreeable companion for a young woman to live with. But by the Hindu bride she has to be looked upon more as an adoptive mother than as a mother-in-law in the English sense of the term. And I should think (subject of course to every correction) that this has had no small share in bringing down the age of marriage of Hindu girls to the low maximum of ten years prescribed in our *shastras*.

My readers might look upon these observations as a justification for zenana seclusion and infant marriage. But I should consider myself hardly dealt with if such were the case. Every social custom is traceable to some co-existing or pre-existing facts, as its natural antecedents or concomitants. And every natural cause is in one sense a justification of its effects. But I do not think such justification carries with it any ethical weight. On the contrary, a right apprehension of the facts should enable us to make ampler provision for what changes may be requisite. Whatever blemishes the joint family system may have, a fuller appreciation of its merits should not be regarded as a justification for those blemishes, but should only persuade us to defer all changes till adequate provision was made for the purpose. Bearing this in mind, I would solicit attention to the following economic bearings of the question :

The chief merits of the institution, ~~are~~, I think, two, and these

would probably resolve themselves into three. In the first place, the system has had such a long standing in this country, and has in consequence been so adapted to our character, that any change unless clearly proved to be decidedly for the better, must be deprecated merely as tending to distrust established order. In the next place we have to consider carefully the effects it has had upon the general question of pauperism, and the relation between the rich and the poor.

The first thing that occurs to me in this last connexion is the help which the joint family organisation extends to widows. I am one of those whose Hindu predilections accord more with the doctrines of M. Comte as regards eternal widowhood, than with the views of revolutionists who seem to hold that the highest pinnacle of social progress, so far as conjugal fidelity is concerned, has been attained in the temporary marriages of the Burmese and the Motai marriages of the Mahomedans.

I hold that the austerities of our widows have a most ennobling effect upon the minds of our wives and daughters. And I should be loath to part with this high moral influence in order to set up a house where the blooming bride would, in the assertion of her woman's rights, first of all drive out the antiquated widow. I do not know if the educational authorities of the day who have charge of girls' or ladies' schools, ever stoop to think of these matters. But if they do not, I for one cannot say that they discharge their onerous, and in some cases, well-paid duties with any approach to average perfection. The Mosaic commandment, honor thy father and mother, must be supplemented, in the case of our girls' education by, honor thy father-in-law and thy mother-in-law.

Passing next to the wider and far more difficult question of the relations between the rich and poor in general, I have to combat a widely prevalent opinion that the growing civilisation of a people is indicated by a rise in their average expensiveness or standard of living. That a man's consumption is an index to his capacity for production I freely admit. But when increased efficiency leads, under the operation of the stern laws of natural selection, to extermination of the comparatively unproductive members of the race, I cannot contemplate the change with un-mixed delight. Besides, I am not quite sure that the strength of numbers is in no degree a match for physical might and inventive skill. The average Chinaman is by no means a match for the average European in physique or soldierly qualities. But I am not sure that the Chinese nation ought to be supplanted by the European nations in the way that the Peruvians and Mexicans have been, or that the consequent increase of the world's resources would be a decided gain. And I cannot therefore persuade myself

to think that the Chinese standard of living would be improved by being raised so as to lead to an equal competition between the Chinaman on the one hand, and the Australian, the Californian, or even the Lancashireman on the other. I do not consent to look upon the human race as a litter of puppies which civilised people are said to improve by a certain process of scientific selection.

With these unfashionable opinions, I confess I do not feel quite unconcerned to think of the relations which exist between our joint family life and cheap living, and to watch the current tendencies in this country to raise our standard of living and breakdown the Bengal and the Mitak'hara systems of joint family organisation which certainly serve to keep down our scale of expenses. I do not mean any disrespect to the august judicial and executive authorities of the country both in and out of India. But I do doubt very much if in their zeal to raise the condition of two hundred millions of Her Majesty's subjects, and in their anxious regard for an efficient famine administration of the country, they do not at times forget that the question of communism is a moot point of controversy on the continent of Europe, and that the individualisation of property on the one hand, and the levelling down, on the other, of extensive landed rights upon communistic principles, do in some measure trench upon grave questions which very materially affect our well-being in the distant future.

However this may be, I think, it is an important point to consider whether in the West, civilisation and its supposed best criterion, accumulation of capital, have not hitherto tended to widen the gulf between the rich and the poor. Wealth represents, indeed, the savings of past generations. And all attempts to wrest it, for the sake of the poor, from those who have lawfully come by it, however sanctioned by a majority, suppressing the minority, are sure to be counteracted in the long run by retribution of a still more aggravated kind. A nationalisation of the land or expropriation of the aristocracy in Europe, or a 'Hectoring\* of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, would, after all, denote only a social revolution which no parliamentary disregard for jurisprudence could wipe out of the minds of the sufferers. But for all the awful mistake of the communist, the mistake, namely, of thinking that a revolution once effected, or a proscription once made, will preclude all chances of a counter-revolution and a second ~~proscription~~, there is a fund of truth in the opinion that the tyranny of capital can be borne only within certain limits. If, indeed,

\* I must crave indulgence for venturing to coin a word like Boycotting, Barking, &c. I allude to Mr. Hector's refined scheme, as set forth in the papers, of buying up the Bengal

Zamindar's rights at so many years' purchase, payable in as many annual instalments, by allowing him to be in possession and enjoyment of his profits for the same period.

it is folly to bind up capital for the sake of endless accumulations, it is equally dangerous to help forward such display of capital as serves to rouse too much the envy of those who, though inefficient or improvident, hold in their hands the most significant power of all, the strength of numbers. However England may have weathered the storm till now, he must be a bold man who would say that no danger exists of the plutocrats of the British Parliament being some day swept off by a sudden blast.

How then does the question stand with us in India? How does the joint family system dispose of the poor and the rich, and how does it affect their average standard of living?

Let us take a family of three brothers, having a monthly income of Rs. 60 in the aggregate, or of Rs. 30, Rs. 20, and Rs. 10, respectively. Let us suppose also that out of this average income of Rs. 20, they consume Rs. 15, and effect a saving of Rs. 5 each, on the average. I think that in the existing condition of the country they would marry, have children, and pass as a respectable family in their own sphere,

If, however, the joint family system did not exist in this country, I think that the circumstances of these three people would be affected in the following ways:—There would be a change first of all by reason of expenditure being regulated by actual income of each individual. This would positively raise the standard of living in the case of the most efficient persons, *e. g.*, people like A, and perhaps also B. With men like C, this circumstance taken by itself might cause a decline. But men's expenses are regulated not only by their incomes but also by the average, or perhaps, the maximum standard of living prevailing around them. Thus, C's expenses, however reduced by reason of his diminished resources, would be likely to rise in some measure, because those of A and B (viewed not as C's brothers, but simply as his fellow-citizens) had increased. And then the notorious improvidence of poverty is a third source of disturbance.

Thus, if the man with an income of Rs. 30 raised his expenses to Rs. 22, *i. e.*, some Rs. 7 over the average in the former case,—and this he could well afford to do, since it would still leave him a saving of Rs. 8 against Rs. 5 of old; supposing that he did all this, I should think that the other two brothers would raise their standards of living, without heeding how they reduced their respective savings from the old standard. It is impossible in the absence of statistics, to represent these ideas correctly by figures, and yet I do not know how else to express them—

	<i>Separate Families.</i>			<i>Average of the Joint Family Estate.</i>		
	A.	B.	C.			
Income	30 Rs.	20 Rs.	10 Rs.	...	...	20 Rs.
Expenditure	22 "	18 "	10 "	...	...	15 "
Saving	8 "	2 "	0 "	...	...	5 "

The foregoing illustration is intended to show, that, although the aggregate income is the same in both cases, and there is a rise admitted in A and B's standards of living, the aggregate expenditure in the one case exceeds the other by 5 Rs., and that, for an increase in one man's saving by 3 Rs. there is an equal reduction in another's, while the third is doomed to live only from hand to mouth.

I may be mistaken, but it is my impression that C, in disregarding the importance of making a saving, as suggested in the illustration, would be actuated not only by the smallness of his income but by another potent source of improvidence: assuming that he could marry if he had been living in joint family with his brothers, I have supposed that he would be debarred from doing so when he had barely enough to live from hand to mouth. And even then, if he might have saved, say one rupee, without a wife to support, he would not mind, I fear, spending the odd rupee on luxuries, which perhaps B could not afford, but A might.

If I am not wholly wrong in setting forth the above example, I think we may count upon the following results of the change alluded to:—1. C cannot marry or have children. 2. A slight addition of expenditure or reduction of income in bad times would drive him to beggary and deprive society of the benefit of his labor. Possibly, also, C living already at "starvation point," would die before he could figure in the mortuary returns of a famine. C's income on the other hand, might be raised by reason of A having withdrawn his help. But we have assumed the aggregate income to be the same in both cases, and the general fact we are dealing with is that he lives from hand to mouth, and spends even his last rupee, because he has not a wife to think for. 3. B's condition in all these matters would be only one step removed from C's. 4. But the greatest evil shown in the illustration is, I think, the disproportion between A, B and C's savings, and also between their respective savings and standards of living. In place of a family of three brothers in equal circumstances, we find two families and a single man ranged according to their savings, in such widely different ranks as are represented by the figures 8, 2 and 0. The institution of caste in this country serves in some measure to distribute the poor people into distinct groups, and the joint family system further distributes the individuals of each group, so as to throw some of them upon the charity of their nearest relations. Thus not only are the poor provided for in some crude way, but the disciplined charity of the leaders of each family prevents the gulf between the rich and the poor being too wide to be borne by the community at large. At the same time the communistic principle involved does not operate to the detriment of

industry and acquisition of property. Capital, it is true, falls to be accumulated as largely as in European countries, and much less so than in England where primogeniture and the law of entail prevails. But that is the source of the greatest anxiety in that part of the world. Furthermore the moral relation between the members of a joint family lifts them far above the cold and mercenary relations of a life in clubs and chummeries. Lastly, the caste system, however objectionable as supporting a social inequality between different castes, has this recommendation, at least, that, owing to it, the disparity between the richer and poorer sections, as noticeable in each caste, is not so great as what exists between the richest and poorest of all the castes combined; and hence, the barrier of caste prevents the jealousy that would occur between the two classes if caste did not exist. The horrors of a French revolution could not, I should think, occur in a society like that of the Hindus—to say nothing of the brutalities of the Communists and Nihilists of Europe whose history is yet to be.

In conclusion, I would point to what I think is an important matter of detail. Even granting that the joint family system is fit to be destroyed, the question arises whether any middle course is possible between it and the family system of Christians, comprising only unmarried daughters and infant children, besides man and wife. If father and son have to live together, which I take is indispensable to our character, provision must be made for the joint living of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and also for that of brothers and their respective wives. It has yet to be proved that to throw out the adult son, and to send forth brothers into opposite corners of the globe, coupled with the dangers of pauperisation already alluded to, are less than an equivalent loss as compared with the evils of the zenana system, infant marriages, and the fostering of idleness peculiar to Hindu joint family life.

Besides, although it may be desirable enough that the inferior members of a joint family should not continue to be a burden upon those who earn most, yet it is a serious question if the character of the nation would not suffer materially, by the earning members being persuaded to cast out the drones of the family merely from an increased self-regard for their personal comforts.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

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#### ART. V.—THE POETRY OF DEROZIO.

“THOSE whom the gods love die young” is a trite saying, more or less verified, in some fashion, in the life experience of most men. The promise of Derozio's early years might, or might not, have been realised. Those who knew him best and loved him most, believed, that, had life been granted him, he would have achieved for himself the very highest rank as poet and thinker. Notwithstanding all the praise bestowed on his early volumes by the press, and by warm-hearted admirers, Derozio did not, as has been asserted, rest on his oars and seek no higher fame, no more enduring monument of song and thought, than those embodied in boyish verse and speculation. Derozio himself believed, that he “had it in him,” to rise to higher flights of thought and to delve deep down into the great heart of humanity; and this self-assurance of conscious power grew in strength, and found expression in conversation with those who came in contact with him during the few months preceding his death.

A good deal has been said regarding the style of Derozio, that it is but an echo of Byron, Moore, and Mrs. McLean (L. E. L.), “exaggerated idealism and pictures of passion.” No doubt, the influence of these writers exercised considerable power in moulding the form of much of Derozio's poetry. They were the poets then fashionable, and to depart from their models was, for a young unknown writer, to court defeat. Derozio's idea was, first, to gain the ear of the public by singing to them in the prevailing fashion of the day; and then, having gained a hearing, to strike out in that style in which his own nature would most vigorously drape his song.

Commenting on a review of Derozio's poetry which appeared in the 13th No. of the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine* for December 1829, the *Government Gazette*, of about the same date, then edited by Dr. John Grant, than whom no one then living could speak with greater authority, says:—

“When the Reviewer blames him (Derozio) for making the Byronic School too much his model we must say for our young poet that he himself, at the time of publishing his *Fakeer of Jungheerah* anticipated that an objection against exaggerated passion and sentiment would be made. Why, then, it may be asked, did he not adopt a simpler model? This we shall briefly explain. In an article quoted from the *Quarterly Review* it is justly remarked that, ‘whoever endeavours to rival the best models of ancient and modern times, must be sustained by his own inherent love of



excellence, without depending on any other support.' He must give place to others whom *fashion* shines on. He (who would be popular) must be new and *striking*, or nothing. The consequence is that books are written, *not* in the manner that is best fitted to enlighten and amend, or even to instructively amuse the public, but to *flatter* it. Mr. Derozio was in no condition to be sustained by his own inherent love of excellence, without depending on any other support. The style adopted in the *Fakeer of Jungheerah* is not, we believe, the one most congenial to Mr. Derozio. This is very evident in the first volume he published. To bring out a book was to him, however, a serious undertaking, because one of the first considerations was, that the book should sell. To render this probable, he felt it necessary to give in to what he believed to be the general taste; and he was therefore obliged to adopt the popular and fashionable model. In process of time, however, when Mr. Derozio may be enabled to depend more upon himself than he was then, we have little doubt, that he will prove satisfactorily to the public, that he is not irretrievably wedded to exaggerated idealism, or pictures of passion."

For ourselves, we believe with Dr. Grant that, had a few years more of life been possible for Derozio, he would have demonstrated to the full, what he had already demonstrated in part, that there was something more in him and his power of song, than sweet imitative echo.

The judgment which an impartial world passes on men, and the position assigned them by an unbiased succeeding generation, free from the heats of personal likes and dislikes, and bitter controversy, is based, not on what a man might have been, or what at some early period of his life he may have been, but on what he actually was, and what he achieved up to the time of his death. It is on these lines we venture to estimate H. L. V. Derozio.

The *Fakeer of Jungheerah* is a poem of two cantos, without a plot and with few incidents. It may be analysed in a sentence or two. A young Hindu widow is about to perform the rite of Sati, when she is rescued by a former lover, the leader of a band of lawless men, whose stronghold is the rock of Jungheerah. In a raid, the last on which he was to lead the band before quitting the lawless life for ever, the robber chief is killed and his band scattered, and Nuleeni is found dead in the arms of her dead lover. Around these few incidents, the genius of Derozio has woven some of the finest poetic imaginings; and there are parts of the poem which indicate, if they do not always reach, the true elements which distinguish the genuine poet; there are imagination, music, sympathy with nature and human nature, and *thought*. The opening of the poem alone, contains gems of poetic metaphor which

would have furnished almost the whole stock in trade of better known singers. ●

Here is the thought of the opening, without the music. The viewless wind, wandering like young spirits on the wing, over flower bells, waking odours, rustling the grass, breathes like a lover's sigh. The sun-lit stream breaks into dimples, like a waking child, smiling in its mother's face. The sun, like heavenly hope, set over earthly care, pours blessing on the earth; and brings its beauties forth. The butterfly, like a flower plucked by an angel from the fairest bowers of heaven, to which wings had been added, has been sent to earth, as an earnest of what beauties bud in heaven. The bee on quivering, melodious wing, like a faithless lover, giddy, and wild, sips honey from the floweret's lips. Under the banyan tree, fanned by refreshing winds, the brain circled by fair fancies, and the thought arrayed in robes of song—a beauteous spot would be blessed to minstrelsy; and there the gifted bard might weave delicious dreams. Then follows a piece of vigorous description, but not by any means the best in the poem.—

The golden God of Day has driven  
His chariot to the western gate  
Of yonder red resplendent heaven,  
Where angels high to hail Him wait;  
But ere his couch he press to night,  
His rays a mournful scene shall light.

The laughing wave that rolls below,  
Gilt with the yellow sunshine's glow,  
Shall hear ere changed its hue may be,  
A maddening wail of misery.

There are choruses of women, Brahmins and the chief Brahmins, and more descriptive passages. We transcribe the XV. stanza :—

As flits the insect round the flame,  
So wheels the heart round passion's fire.  
Their blindness, madness, still the same,  
Alike in pangs they both expire.  
Where'er the treacherous taper burns,  
Thither the headlong insect turns;  
And fearless, fluttering near it still,  
Regardless of all pain or ill,  
Until the warmth that round it plays  
Attracts it nearer to the blaze,

Expiring there, at last it learns  
Though bright the flame, it scathes, it  
burns.  
So round the torch that Love hath lit,  
Mad as the moth the heart will flit—  
On giddy wing it wildly wheels,  
Th' enlivening glow its spirit foels;  
And then it fondly fancies, this  
Must be what minstrels picture bliss,  
Until into the fire it flies,  
And then, too late, lamenting, dies!

Stanza XIX., the Hymn to the Sun, though cast in a somewhat hackneyed measure, has a steady flow and majestic ring about it, which ought to make it better known.

#### HYMN TO THE SUN.

God of this beauteous world! whom earth  
and heaven  
Adore in concert, and in concert love,  
Whose praise is hymned by the eternal  
seven,  
Bright wheeling minstrels of the courts  
above!

God of this glorious universe!—the sea  
Smiles in thy glance, and gladdens in  
thy ray,  
And lifteth up its voice in praise to thee,  
Giver of good, Creator of the day!

God of th' immortal mind ! with power to scan  
Thoughts that like diamonds in the cavern  
lie,  
Though deeply bedded in the breast of  
man,

Distinct and naked to thy piercing eye.

God of Eternity ! whose golden throne  
Is borne upon the wings of angels bright ;  
God of all goodness, thou art God alone,  
Circled with glory, diademed with light !

Thou look'st from thy pavilion, and  
each cloud,

Like fear o'ercome by hope triumphant,  
fies ;

The angry thunder's voice, though raving  
loud,

At thy bright presence into silence dies.

When all is darkness, like the sad soul's  
night,

And tempests lower, like grief upon our  
hearts.

Affrighted nature sees thy forehead bright,  
The black storm furls his banner, and  
departs.

Thou mak'st the rainbow with thy  
golden beams

Span the blue ocean rolling at thy feet  
Set in the sky, that arch of promise seems  
Like hope still distant, and like hope  
still sweet.

The flowers, the beauty of the earth, implore  
Like woman in distress, thy rays to bring  
Their beauty out of nothing, and their store  
Of scent and sweetness from their latent  
spring.

The forest's green is of thy giving. Thou  
Dost fling its emerald mantle o'er the  
earth—

Prostrate to thee let all creation bow,  
For all creation at thy word had birth.

O Sun ! thy herald is the morning star,  
Like fame preceding greatness ; but when  
day

Comes on advancing with thy gilded car,  
Heaven's hosts of wonder melt like sparks  
away :

Who shall declare thy glory !—Unto thee  
My heart in fervent adoration kneels ;  
Thou know'st whate'er its sufferings may  
be,

To thee alone it tremblingly appeals.

God of this beautiful world whom earth  
and heaven

Adore in concert, and in concert love ;  
Thy praise is hymned by the perpetual  
seven.

Bright wheeling minstrels of the courts  
above.

God of this glorious universe ! the sea  
Smiles in thy glance and gladdens in  
thy ray,

And lifteth up its voice in praise to thee,  
Giver of good, creator of the day !

God of th' immortal mind ! with power to  
scan

Thoughts that like diamonds in the  
cavern lie,

Though deeply bedded in the breast of  
man,

Distinct and naked to thy piercing eye.

God of Eternity ! whose golden throne  
Is borne upon the wings of angels bright

God of all goodness, thou art God alone,  
Circled with glory, diademed with light !

The repetition at the close, of the opening verses, is a feature in the poetry of Derozio which occurs frequently. This repetition of the opening notes of the strain, as the closing lines are dying on the ear, and thus carrying the memory and imagination back through the whole effort, and again down the line in thought, is a true poetic instinct, which poets and musicians of the first order have frequently handled, in a fashion to produce results of the happiest and most powerful description.

The first canto ends with Nuleeni and her lover safe together in the rocky home of Jungl.erah. The closing verses are, as follows :—

They're gone unto their rocky home—  
O ! such a bird in such a nest !  
Yet, from that spot she will not roam,  
To her the dearest, sweetest, best !

Yes ! for where love in woman's form  
Whispers soft vows in gentlest tone,  
The very snow-clad cliff will warm.  
The crag be smooth as eider down.

The pigeon on its pinjon fair  
From that grey inlet never roves;  
Ah no—her constant mate is there,  
With joy, and all its world of loves.—

The night went by, and morning's wing  
Through eastern skies came waving grey  
The last lone star was glittering  
With indistinct, and feeble ray,  
Like hope, when'er it beams afar.  
A pale a cold, a trembling star!  
The breeze of matin roams about,  
Sweet as the sigh a rose gives out,  
When she hath half the sorrows heard,  
At silent hour, in plaintive lay,  
Of her enamoured minstrel bird,  
Pining with passion pure, away.

The heavens are tinged with many a hue,  
Gold, amethyst, and softest blue;

As if the angels there had sung  
Those colours from their plumes of light;  
And when their morning hymn was sung  
Had rushed away from mortal sight.  
Each cloud that melts, or swiftly flies  
Like strange-dreams from sleepers' eyes;  
A d d ! the sun now beams above  
Nuleeni and her Robber-love.—  
Would that the days might thus have passed  
Of that divine enthusiast,—  
For ever bright, for ever fair,  
No angry storm to blacken there,  
Or break the pure, the crystal stream  
Reflecting heaven, like poet's dream !—  
O ! that the gems in pleasure's ring  
Might never fade or fall away ;  
But 'tis, alas ! a fragile thing  
• Breaking too like a rainbow's ray—  
And oh ! were bliss to mortals given,  
Who, who would leave our earth for heaven ?

The second canto opens with a festive scene at Rajmahal interrupted by the advent of Nuleeni's father, and contains, in our estimation, some of the most vigorous verses Derozio ever wrote. Stanza V.—The Legend of the Shushan (shushan, the place to which the dead are conveyed to be burned) ought long ago to have taken its place among the very few modern ballads of English poetry. It is not every poet that can write a ballad, and Derozio may claim to be one of these. The Legend of the Shushan, with all its imperfections, is worth all the Edwins and Angelinas, the Margarets and Williams, and the volumes of verse of all the Mallets and Peter Pindars of last century. We quote the ballad entire; and our readers will readily, for themselves, light on verses which we venture to think, for faithfulness to nature, vivid realistic description, and felicity of thought and expression, are not often reached in English poetry :—

#### THE LEGEND OF THE SHUSHAN.

O ! Love is strong, and its hopes 'twill build  
Where nothing beside would dare ;  
O ! Love is bright, and its beams will gild  
Like the beautiful glance (which kills with its light)  
Of a woman's large black eye.  
And youth is the time, the joyful time  
When visions of bliss are before us ;  
But alas ! when gone, in our sober prime  
We sigh for the days flown o'er us.  
It hissed through the air, and it dipped in the wave  
And it madly plunged into earth,  
Then pursued the wind to its desolate cave,  
And hurried to its home in the north.  
For youth and love their hopes will build  
Where nothing beside would dare ;  
And the both are bright, and their beams will gild  
Some spirit had charmed each gathered cloud,  
The desert, dark and bare.  
Till the mystic spell it broke ;  
The rain fell fast, and the midnight blast  
And then uprising, oft and loud,  
Its horrible chaunt did sing,  
The heavens in thunder spoke,  
And it howled and raved as it madly passed  
And sooth it seemed as if, save that gleam,  
Like a demon on wildest wing.  
All nature had lost her light—  
The moon had concealed her beautiful beam ;  
"Twas a fearful, fearful night,

On the wings of the storm each star had  
passed

To its home of rest far away,  
As if in the blast there could not last  
Of radiance even a ray;

As if like hope and joy they ne'er  
Too long should brightly shine.  
Lest, if on earth they for ever were,  
Existence might be divine!

'Twas a dismal night; and the tempest sang;  
As it rushed o'er flood and fell;  
And loud the laugh of spirits rang  
With the demon's midnight yell.

And the shriek and cry rose wild and high  
From many an earthless form;  
And roar and shout cut through the sky,  
And mixed with the voice of the storm.

But love is strong, and its hopes will build  
Where nothing beside would dare;  
And love is bright, and its beams will gild  
The desert, dark and bare.

And youth is the time, the joyful time  
When visions of bliss are before us;  
But alas! when gone, in our sober prime  
We sigh for the days flown o'er us.

For love and youth their hopes will build  
Where nothing beside would dare;  
And they both are bright, and their beams  
will gild  
The desert, dark and bare.

O! why at this hour, in the dark Shushan,  
Is the Prince Jogindra sighing?  
Sure, that cannot be a dwelling for man,  
Where the loathsome dead are lying.

Uncarthy dogs are barking there,  
As to break the dead sleeper's dream;  
And the grey wolf howls—'tis his dismal  
lair;—

And the owl glints by with a scream.  
The night wind moans, like a sick man's  
groans,

When he, fevered, gasps on his bed—  
Then why is the Prince here all alone?—  
Ah! Radhika fair is dead.

The wind may moan like a sick man's groan  
When he fevered gasps on his bed—  
But why is the Prince here all alone,  
Thou, Radhika fair be dead?

Her spirit is gone to some region blest,  
Unhurt by the storm and the strife—  
She will not wake from her dreamless rest;  
And who shall charm her to life?

But there was a man, and a holy man,  
A gifted Sunyasee.  
Who bade him dwell in the dark Shushan,  
For days and black nights three.

There demons shall come and bid thee do,  
Full many a fearful deed;

But if thou quail or shrink, thou'lt rue.  
And death shall be thy meed,

Each night three trials must be passed,  
Of earthly pain severest;  
And thou, if true, shalt win at last  
Thy Radhika fairest, dearest.

But there's one deed thou shalt not do,  
Though a spirit bright bids thee—  
Yet if thou dare, that deed thou'lt rue;"

Said the sainted Sunyasee.  
Now name that deed; thou holy man!"  
Cried the Prince all eagerly;  
And I shall dwell in the dark Shushan  
For days and black nights three."

"It may not be," said the Sunyasee;  
Thy faith must yet be tried;  
And if great thy love and thy wisdom be,  
Thou Prince! shalt win thy bride.

But all unarmed, that home of the dead,  
And heedless of friend or foe,  
With feet unshod must Jogindra tread."  
Said the Prince: "With joy I go."

For love is strong, and its hope 'twill build  
Where nothing beside would dare;  
And love is bright, and its beams will gild  
The desert, dark and bare.

And youth is the time, the joyful time  
When visions of bliss are before us;  
But alas! when gone, in our sober prime  
We sigh for the days flown o'er us.

For love and youth their hopes will build  
Where nothing beside would dare;  
And they both are bright, and their beams  
will gild  
The desert, dark and bare.

Three days are done, and two nights gone  
In painful trials past;  
This night remains, and the bride is won,  
If strong he be to the last.

He sat on a stone, all mute and lone,  
By the corpse of his Radhika fair,  
When the lightning flashed, and the wind  
made moan,

And a beautiful spirit stood there!  
Her eyes seemed made of the pure star-  
light,

And her face was mild and sweet;  
Her neck was white as the flower of night,  
And her tresses kissed her feet.

Her form was like to the cypress tree,  
And her cheek, it was young love's bed;  
Her fairy step, was light and free,  
Her lip like the lotus red.

Her voice was sweet as when ripples meet,  
And sigh o'er a pebbled strand;  
So soft was her song, it seemed to belong  
To a happy, heavenly land.

*The Spirit's Song.*

O ! now do not leave me,  
 Since false friends have flown ;  
 Dear Love ! do not grieve me,  
 I've thought thee mine own.  
 'Mid tempest and storm, love !  
 'Mid good and 'mid ill,  
 Thy form, thy bright form, love !  
 My star hath been still.  
 Though prospects before me  
 Were darksome and drear,  
 Though clouds gathered o'er me,  
 Still, still thou wast near !  
 My visions have faded,  
 The tear fills mine eye,  
 My hopes are degraded,  
 They're hurled from on high.  
 Like thoughts that are straying  
 Where darkness should be,  
 Bright moon-beams are playing  
 Above the green sea.  
 Now clouds are concealing  
 The face of the moon—  
 As onward she's wheeling,  
 She's darkened too soon !  
 O ! thus on my sorrow  
 There shone silver beams ;  
 Alas ! ere the morrow,  
 They vanished like dreams !  
 My bird was the sweetest  
 That ever did sing,  
 But ah ! 'twas the fleetest,  
 And wild was its wing.  
 But sweeter, far sweeter  
 Did hope weave her lay,  
 And, ah me ! much fleetest  
 She flew far away.  
 I've found thee, I've found thee—  
 My griefs would be done,  
 If love's chain had bound thee,  
 And made us out one,  
 Then oh ! do not leave me,  
 Or wretched I'll be—  
 For now what could grieve me  
 But parting from thee ?

Her dawning smile breaks pensively ;  
 With supplicating hands,  
 And sad yet soft beseeching eye,  
 That fairy vision stands.

Jogindra's glance upon her dwelt,  
 As there were magic in her form ;  
 He gazed, he sighed, he almost felt  
 His heart within him warm.

" But no ! he cried, for constancy  
 " Is every charm above ;  
 " And I shall still be true to thee,  
 My Radhika ! my Love ? "

The storm is hushed, and the moon her light  
 Has softly flung o'er all,  
 And the dark Shushan is a palace bright,  
 With lamps on each crystal wall.

'Mid a glittering throng the sound of song  
 Now floats on the scented air,  
 As minstrel seraphs, glad and young,  
 Were waking their music there !

From heavenliest bowers they've gathered  
 flowers,  
 Red roses, and jasmines white ;  
 On the wings of joy swift fly the hours,  
 For the night is a bridal night !

And high, on a throne of azure and gold,  
 Jogindra in princely pride  
 All smiling sits,—on his arm behold,  
 Leans Radhika fair his bride !

O ! Love is strong, and its hope 'twill build  
 Where nothing beside would dare ;  
 O ! Love is bright and its beams will gild  
 The desert, dark and bare.

And youth is the time, the joyful time,  
 When visions of bliss are before us ;  
 But alas ! when gone, in our sober prime,  
 We sigh for the days flown o'er us.

For love and youth their hopes will build  
 Where nothing beside would dare ;  
 And they both are bright, and their beams  
 will gild  
 The desert, dark and bare.

Derozio's note to the Legend of the Shushan we reproduce in its entirety. The wild weirdness of the original, and how far Derozio followed it, will be apparent to the reader :—

"A student of that excellent institution, the Hindu College, once brought me a translation of the Betal Punchesse, and the following fragment of a tale having struck me for its wildness, I thought of writing a ballad, the subject of which should be strictly Indian. The Shushan is a place to which the dead are conveyed, to be burnt. In conformity with the practice of eastern story-tellers, who frequently repeat the burden or moral of the song, I have introduced the " O Love is strong," &c., wherever an opportunity offered :—

" Thereupon, he took the Jogee aside, and said, ' O Gosayn ! you

have given me many rubies, but have never even once eaten in my house : I am therefore much ashamed, so, pray tell me what it is that you want ? ' Great King,' replied the Jogee, ' on the banks of the river Godavurri is a Shushan, where all I wish for will be gained by Muntra. Seven-eighths of what I want have been already obtained ; and I now seek at your hands the remaining portion. You must therefore stay with me one whole night.' ' Agreed,' replied the King, ' appoint the day.' ' On the evening of the fourteenth day of the month Bhader, come to me armed.' ' Go,' returned the Raja, ' and I promise to be with you on the day you have fixed.' With this promise the Devotee took leave of the King, and proceeded to the Shushan. The Raja was lost in meditation, till the time appointed stole upon him, and then, having armed himself, he went alone in the evening to the Jogee.

' Come in and sit down, my son,' said the Devotee ; and the Raja complied with his request, while at the same time he, unalarmed, beheld demons, ghosts, witches, and malignant spirits, dancing around him, and changing their forms. ' Now,' said the Raja, ' what are your commands ?' ' Four miles south of this,' replied the Jogee, ' is a Shushan, where, on a tree, hangs a corpse, bring me that corpse, while I pray.' Having now sent the King away, the Jogee sat himself down, and commenced his devotions. The dark night frowned upon him ; and such a storm with rain came on, as if the heavens would have exhausted themselves, and never have rained again, while the demons and evil spirits set up a howl ! that might have daunted the stoutest heart. But the King held on his way, and, though snakes came wreathing round his legs, he got free of them by repeating a charm. At last, overcoming all opposition, he reached the cemetery, where he saw demons beating human beings, witches gnawing the livers of children, and tigers and elephants roaring. As he cast his eyes upon a Serus tree, he saw its root and branch in flames, and heard these words sounding from all quarters—' Strike ! strike ! seize, seize ! take care that none escape.' ' Come what will,' said he then to himself, ' this undoubtedly is the Jogee of whom the Dey made mention to me.' So saying, he went up to the tree, where he saw a corpse hanging with its head downwards. ' Now,' cried he, ' my labour is at an end.' Then fearlessly climbing the tree, he made a cut with his sword at the rope that suspended the corpse, which, as soon as it fell, began to cry. The King, hearing its voice, was pleased at the thought that it must have been a living being ; then having descended, ' Who are you ?' said he to it. To his great astonishment, the corpse only laughed, and, without any reply, climbed the tree. The King followed it, and, having brought it

down in his arms, repented his question. But, receiving no answer, he thought that it might have been the oil-man, who the Dey had said had been kept in the cemetery by the Jogee ; then, having bound it in his cloak, he began to bring it away.

He who greatly ventures, will greatly win. 'Who are you,' said Betal, the corpse, to the Raja, 'and where are you taking me?' 'I am Raja Vicrom,' said the King, 'and I am taking you to the Jogee.' 'Let it be agreed between us,' replied Betal, 'that if you speak while we are on the road, I shall return.' To this the Raja consented, and proceeded with the corpse. While they were on the way, 'O King,' said Betal, 'the learned and the wise spend their time in songs and study, and the indolent and ignorant in frivolity and sleep. It therefore behoves us to make an easy journey of it with pleasant conversation. Hear then what I now tell thee':

But there was a man, and a holy man,  
A gifted Sunyasee.

A Sunyasee is a devotee who lives in the desert—

"The moss his bed, the cave his humble cell.

His food the fruits, his drink the crystal well."

The verses from Stanzas X. to XVIII. of the second canto are full of beautiful poetic imagery, dramatic intensity, and that sympathy between nature and human nature, which Wordsworth and above all Burns, in his "Wee modest crimson tippet flower," and "Wee sleekit cow'rin tim'rous beastie," developed to the highest point. We do not mean to assert, that Derozio may rank in equality as a poet with, either Wordsworth or Burns ; but it seems to us, that the poetry of Derozio is steeped in an intensity of feeling and passion, and a wealth of beautiful thought, a little fanciful, no doubt, which Wordsworth does not always reach, if he ever reaches ; and that, in common with all true poets, Derozio has felt and expressed, not only the close affinity of the varying moods and the life of man with the changeful phases of nature, but also the sympathy that links together all created things, and that throws the beams of a warm human love around on all Nature.

The parting between Nuleeni and her lover is, in some respects, one of the finest passages in the "Fakeer of Jungheerah." There is in it, not much of that deep grip of some of the more abstruse problems of life, which age and ripe experience can alone supply ; but there is a freshness and beauty, as well as a dramatic force and truthfulness, which poets of seventeen do not always



exhibit, and which may fairly earn for Derozio a niche among the great singers of all time—

## X.

How beautiful is moonlight on the stream !  
How bright on life is Hope's enchanting  
beam :  
Life moves inconstant like the rippling rill,  
Hope's and the moon's rays quiver o'er  
them still !

How soft upon each flower is fair moonlight  
Making its beauty more serenely bright,  
Bringing sweet sighs of fragrance from its  
breast,

Where all its odours are, like thoughts, at  
rest.

How sweet to sit upon a bank, and mark  
The soft moon looking on a little bark,  
As if she watch'd it from her azure sphere.  
The guardian spirit of its blest career ;  
Flinging her melted pearls upon its sail,  
That swells with infant pride before the  
gale, —

How speeds the shallop with its fleecy wing.  
Like bliss or fancy—quite a fragile thing !  
Thus shone the moon upon the hallowed  
wave,

Bright as the wish for freedom, in a slave ;  
Thus shone the moon upon Jungheera's  
flower,

Nuleeni, rosbud of the rocky bower ;  
And thus soft beams upon the shallop lay,  
Which soon must bear her Robber-love  
away.

## XI.

Alas ! that fate should come 'twixt heart  
and heart,

And, like a tyrant, force the loved to part !  
Breaking the dream which comes but once  
to bless

Existence with a ray of happiness—  
That golden vision which, in mercy given,  
Seems as 'twere brought by seraphim from  
heaven ;

And when 'tis gone we wish that life were  
o'er,  
To dream in heaven that dream for ever-  
more.

Alas ! that warm celestial Love should  
know

The blights of earth, the agonies of woe—  
The killing poison creeping through each  
vein,

The feelings crushed, and the bewildered  
brain,

The scorpion stinging every hope to death,  
And life bereft of all but tears and breath.—  
'Tis well these pangs it never twice can feel,  
For hearts impassioned, wounded, never  
heal ;

Like broken pearls, no power of mortal art  
Can mend the gems or join the river  
heart !

When to some spirit we have linked our  
lot,  
One who, through life, can never be forgot,  
One, whom with fond affection we have  
placed

To light, and warm the bosom's dismal  
waste—

O ! if that spirit from the breast be torn,  
Where like a precious jewel it was worn,  
What, when 'tis gone, may memory hope to  
find ?

A blank—a void—a dreariness of mind !—  
It is as if upon a gloomy night,

When one soft star alone is twinkling  
bright.

Not a grey, lowering cloud of blackest hue  
Should gather o'er, and quench that lin-  
gerer too.

## XII.

'Is sweet upon the midnight moon to gaze,  
o'er the waters shoot her trembling  
rays ;

'Tis sweet at star-lit hour to hear the breeze  
Waking o'er pebbles its rich melodies,  
Like a young minstrel with his tuneful art  
Singing to soften the unfeeling heart.—  
But oh ! to gaze upon the love-lit eye,  
To feel its warmth, and all its witchery ;  
To hear the melting music of that voice  
Which bids the bosom madden or rejoice ;  
To know that every glance, and thought,  
and tone.

Of one devoted spirit is our own—  
O ! this is joy, like that to angels given,  
Filled to the brim, the heavenliest cup of  
heaven.

For Robber-love and young Nuleeni share  
Each bliss as perfect as the heart may bear,  
All those soft dreams th' impassioned  
spirit knows,

Those wild emotions Love alone bestows—  
Ecstatic fancies which but once can be,  
Making us quite forget Mortality !—  
He looked upon her eye, as 'twere the star  
Of life and death to him—no gem afar  
That sparkled o'er them in the clear blue  
sky

Feretold so truly of his destiny,—  
There was a softened sadness on his brow,  
But seldom there, though too apparent  
now—

The savage sternness from his face was gone,  
Where but that beam of Melancholy shone  
As 'twere prophetic of the grief that soon  
Must fling its shadow on their blissful  
moon—

Or like a herald onward sent to tell,  
That all within his bosom was not all.—

"Thee, sweet! to-night for one short hour  
I leave—  
"A daring conquest must my hand achieve  
"And 'tis my promise, ere another chief  
"Shall be selected for thy love's relief,  
"Once more to lead them to their prey  
alone,  
"Then quit for ever, and be all thine  
own.  
"Quench not the light of that life-giving  
eye,  
"Swift on the wings of Love to thee I'll  
fly—  
"But one short hour—and I demand no  
more—  
"For ever thine, when that short hour is  
o'er."

XIII.

How dreadful is the storm, with flag un-  
furled!  
And sheathless lightning warring with the  
world  
Lost is of light the last remaining ray,  
As if the stars had burnt themselves away,  
Or, as the wind, by furious demons driven  
Had quenched for ever those small lamp  
of heaven!  
Hark! how it rushes like a maniac by,  
Raving and singing as it cuts the sky—  
Hark! how it hissing o'er the river flies—  
Chafing the waves, and moaning till it dies  
As though the spirits of the storm, unblest,  
Had been sent down to trouble all at rest.  
Snatched is the moon from heaven, as she  
had been  
Too fair a witness for so dark a scene:  
As though her delicate and gentle form  
Might ne'er abide the gathering of the  
storm;  
But, like the beautiful on earth, be still  
Bowed or destroyed beneath the blasts of ill.  
"The heavens their flood-gates all at once  
unbar  
The waters wildly hurry to the war,  
Madly to earth the rain in torrents gushed,  
As from its dismal prison-clouds it rushed;  
Against Jungheer's rocks, and shelving  
shore  
Loud howls the tempest wild—the breakers  
roar,—  
Thus, as the tempest dimmed the moon-  
light scene,  
Upon Nulcon's soul where all had been  
At peace, those words of parting quenched  
the light  
Which made existence most divinely  
bright.—

XIV.

"And must we part so soon?—an hour  
from thee,  
"A single moment were Eternity—  
"When thou art gone—alas! what can I  
find  
"To fill the dreadful vacuum of mind?

A thought, a feeling that may yield relief,  
And, like a pitying angel, soothe my  
grief?  
"Yes—but one thought, one feeling shall  
be there—  
"Tis more to name it than my spirit dare—  
"The doubt—th' uncertain moments which  
will bring  
"Pangs that have deadliest poison in their  
sting—  
"The dubious hour—the fear of losing  
thee—  
"The pain—the parting—no—it cannot  
be :—  
"Why shouldst thou leave me on this  
stormy night,  
"And, like you heaven, deprive my soul  
of light?  
"Alas! when thou art gone, its latest ray  
"Its brightest, warmest beam, will melt  
away.  
"Why o'er the waters should my love  
career?  
"Thy home's my bosom—come, and rest  
there here!—  
"Ah! yet before thy rash resolve be made,  
"Ere of the truth my spirit is afraid,  
"Let me once warn thee, that our dream so  
bright  
"May darkly end as darkly speeds the  
night—  
"But now the moon shone fair in yonder  
sky;  
"Like her, our hopes were fair, and far  
more high—  
"The tempest's wing has veiled her silver  
brow;  
"Thus fear is gathering o'er me, round  
me now.  
"Turn not aside from me that brow divine,  
"That gaze where I must read the lot  
that mine—  
"Nay—I will cling to thee—O! tear me  
not  
"From thy embrace—is all, is all forgot?  
"Are those fond vows which once to me  
were given  
"Gone like thin clouds by winds for ever  
driven—  
"Has love withdrawn at once his meteor  
light:  
"Or why this madness—why this wish to-  
night—  
"This wish to sever—is thy soul estranged  
From her it cherished,—or am I now  
changed?—  
"Well, be it so—forsake me if thou wilt,  
"And none be pangs more keen than  
conscious guilt?  
"But ah! not now—this wrathful tempest  
brings  
"Unerring death upon its roaring wings.  
"When, fortune turning from our path  
away,  
"Flings o'er our spirits but a darker day

"When parting Hope no promise leaves behind,  
 "To cheer the murky 'midnight of the mind;  
 "If then, this cold world force our souls to part,  
 "Breaking this fragile, this devoted heart;  
 "If from the gathered storm-cloud then, the bands  
 "Of demons flash, like meteors red, their brands,—  
 "Let the wild tempest burst; and if one cry  
 "Rush from our anguished bosoms to the sky—  
 "That wail of woe, if we of Fate complain.  
 "Shall rise with justice, though it rise in vain.—  
 "But now to sever, even unbidden thus,  
 "Who dreams how long?—ah! no—'tis not for us—  
 "My fond entreaties shall thy purpose shake,  
 "This heart no parting of to-night shall break."

## XV.

There was that conscious firmness in her tone,  
 Which Hope but lends to trusting Love alone,  
 That certainty which dwells perchance above,  
 Unknown on earth, and least of all to love.—  
 Why does the spirit thus itself deceive,  
 And all its own fond flatteries believe?  
 Is it because these soft delusive dreams  
 Like rainbows glow with heavenly-painted beams,  
 And that to make them, we even shed our tears,  
 If the glad sunshine come from happier spheres?—  
 Alas! 'tis true; for when those beams have flown  
 The tears remain, and they—are all our own!

## XVI.

"Nay, I must leave thee—passed is now my word;  
 "And who has known me shrink from truth or pain?  
 "Thou shalt not pine in solitude, sweet bird!  
 "Ere long I'll warm thee in my breast again—  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 "But one short hour shall raise its shadowy screen,  
 "Me and the light of those dear eyes between;  
 "That past, existence shall be one sweet dream,  
 "Still lit, still gilded by love's brightest beam.—

"Behold, how rapidly the storm-clouds roll  
 "From heaven's blue face, like shrivelled leaf, or scroll.  
 "The deep-toned thunder booms not on the breeze,  
 "The tempest sings not through the tamarind trees;  
 "The soft, transparent air, with perfumes sweet  
 "Just stirs the ripplets, murmuring at our feet—  
 "Each star has set in heaven its urn of light.  
 "And lo! that black cloud wears a border white;  
 "While all beyond it is of silver—soon  
 "Shall night behold upon her throne, the moon—  
 "One hour her progress shall but scarcely tell.  
 "Ere I return—no more to say farewell."—

## XVII.

Farewell!—alas! that melancholy word  
 Comes spell-like on the heart when'er 'tis heard,  
 As if the spirit, from that moment, were  
 Bound with a curse to be dissevered ne'er.  
 It lingers on the ear, as if 'twould be  
 Still sounding until slow Eternity  
 Came stealing o'er existence; and there seems  
 An omen in its echo, as in dreams  
 The trusting maiden fondly seeks a sign,  
 Her hope's mysterious history to divine.  
 Ah! there's a mournful, a prophetic spell  
 In the faint fall, of early love's farewell.

## XVIII.

They're parted—O! that e'er the tried, the fond  
 Should severed be, and find that all beyond  
 That withering moment is but solitude;  
 And then the soul its dreary widowhood  
 Bewails in chaos!—Love's adieu, when spoken,  
 Leaves nothing to the heart for ever broken—  
 Of all the visions that once bright could be,  
 O! what remains?—nought but their memory!—  
 They're parted.—With his band, that outlaw bold  
 For plunder armed, now quits his rocky hold.  
 In starry fragments, by the potent stroke  
 Of dashing oars, the crystal billow's broke;  
 The bark swims onward like a water spire  
 At play beneath the beauty's eye of night;  
 Her pointed prow has kissed the moonlit strand,  
 That now receives the Robber and his band—  
 Then to the secret haunt, and there to each  
 His desperate duty shall their captain teach;  
 Each man his charge

We close our extracts from the Fakeer of Jungheerah, with a description of the night in which Nuleeni goes forth to search the battle-plain for her lover.

<p>High from her cloud pavilion, fleecy white, The moon rains down her showers of icy light, And worlds in multitudes, resplendent, throng; Around her throne, like minstrels with their song, Loosening sweet music on the fragrant breeze, That silent listens to their melodies. The earth sleeps listless;—she will wake again When morning breaks her dream; but shall the slain, Whom now upon her bosom cold she bears, Yet find a land unreach'd by mortal cares— A morning blushing in a brighter sky. Than that above which seems for bliss too rich? Mysterious sleep! whate'er of nothingness Man learns, it is from thee:—but thou canst bless The heart, to whom Hope's joy-inspiring name Has long been but a sound; whose being's flame Is almost quenched into the latest spark, That gleams to show how all around is dark—</p>	<p>Though dread thine influence: the soul of grief Woo thee alone, for thou canst yield relief, Such as the dreams of waking life may ne'er Bestow on human suffering, and despair— Now all around is tranquil as the sea When hushed it seems as in a reverie; So still, so silent, you might hear the beat Of your own heart, or seraph's viewless feet, Or deem your mind's imagining had found Some spell to form itself into a sound— One of those thin ethereal tones that we Of hear at night—the heart's best min- • trelsy, Too pure for mortal ear, and earthly pain — But lo! alone upon the battle-plain, Pale as embodied moonlight, glides a form, Like a soft breeze, when silenced is the storm! Is it a spirit from a happier sphere Come down to mourn o'er wreck'd enjoy- ment here? Or learn that earth has lost its paradise? Or bear a tale of suffering to the skies? "Tis poor Nuleeni? * * * *</p>
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That the Fakeer of Jungheerah is not better known to the students of English literature, and that it seems to be totally unknown to this generation of fairly cultured men and women, is due, in some measure, to the fact, that, as a rule, things Indian have a weak vitality. There is probably no society in the world which experiences more frequent changes, in so short a period, as the society which forms the brain and heart of India. One race of officials and merchants succeeds another; and a man toiling in the plains of India for half a century may see set succeed set, in ever vanishing trains; and he himself, though known well perhaps to the men who formed society at his first coming, may, unless he is in some prominent position, be all but unknown to later comers. On the other hand, men who have made for themselves a fair reputation in India return to Britain, and experience something of the spirit at least, of the lines—

....."no one, now,  
Dwells in the Hall of Ivor;  
Men, dogs and horses all are dead,  
He is the sole survivor."

The cultured and literary circle of which Derozio formed not the least ornament, fifty years ago, in Calcutta, would have added a lustre, and formed the centre of attraction, to any capital of Europe: Grant, Richardson, Parker, Calder Campbell, John Silk Buckingham, R. Haldane Rattray, and other men of

brilliant parts have all but faded out, from the memory of India and her people; and if the memory of Derozio, the brilliant Eurasian lad, who gave such solid evidence of wide capacity and genius, has shared the same fate, it is because the community to which he belonged, for which he laboured, and over which he threw the radiance of his genius, are so apathetic, so indifferent to their own interests, and apparently so ashamed of their origin, as to be deserted by the men who ought to organize and lead them on the path of progress and self-helpfulness, and inspire in them a love for the country which is their native land, instead of talking of England as "home," claiming to be Englishmen, and learning to despise the race of their mothers.

Of Derozio's minor pieces, "The Enchantress of the Cave," is the longest. It is cast in the same dramatic mould that characterises some portions of his "Fakcer of Jungheerah," and it exhibits a minuteness of detail, and a fidelity to nature, which mark some of his best productions. Like "the Fakcer of Jungheerah," the "Enchantress of the Cave" is strung on but a slender thread of narrative. The story may be briefly summarised in a line or two; and even then, the tale, with the exception of the interview in the cave, is rather hinted at than detailed.

The night before a decisive battle is to be fought between Muhammadans and Hindus for the mastery of India, Nazim seeks the enchantress of the cave to learn "whether all is well" with his wife Jumeeli, whom he has left behind. He finds that the youth who had accompanied him to battle has deserted him, and he proceeds alone to the cave. In the "Enchantress" he discovers Jumeeli, his wife, who had accompanied him to battle, disguised in male attire, and again assumed the guise of an enchantress. This is the whole story. The ride to the cave is thus described:—

O'er many a hill he urged his horse,  
Unchecked his speed, uncrossed his course,  
Tho' rowel of his pur was red;  
Away like lightning-shaft he sped;  
The hals rung with his clattering tread;  
Yet gallantly he urged him on,  
For the cave must be gained ere rise of sun;  
His course like a mountaineer's arrow  
he kept,  
Full forward he went—the wine is leapt:  
Tha' milk white barb now neighed aloud,  
And toss'd on high his crest so proud;  
The white foam blanched his bridle rein,

As wildly streamed his flowing mane;  
He champed the bit that galled him much,  
Then sprung to Nazim's spurring touch;  
Away he bounds—his speed might cope  
With flight of fleetest antelope;  
Now down the vale he wends, and now  
Has almost reached the lofty brow  
Of yonder hill—and when 'tis past,  
He'll win the wished-for cave at last.  
Th' won't he's gone—no more I hear  
His charger's tramp ring on my ear,  
Its very echo now is still,  
And silent are the vale and hill!

Here is a picture of the cave and the enchantress which recalls some of the weird effects of the Legend of the Shushan:—

His steed is tied to a withered tree,  
And now the cavern enters he;  
And who is tho' he's so wan and grim  
That sits there, all regardless of him?

Her yellow skin is shrivelled and shrunk,  
Her locks are grey, and her eyes are sunk,  
And time has set on her brow, it appears,  
Perchance the seal of a hundred years,

A hundred years of sorrow and care—  
Look, look on that brow—what paleness is there!  
And there's an unearthly flash in her eye,  
When first it is fixed on a passer-by;  
Her lips are parched, her jaws are Jank,  
The cave that shields her is dreary and dank;

A cauldron is seething in that lone cave,  
Which yawns like a desolate, loathsome grave;  
And she, the tenant who makes it her home,  
Looks like an Afrit\* escaped from the tomb!

Here in its entirety is the Song of the Enchantress. The notes A to F, appended to this poem, show an amount of out-of-the-way reading, and an acquaintance with legendary lore, which exhibits, in some fashion, one side, at least, of the wide reading of Derozio:—

"Oh! Chuhulmonar† is far from me;  
"But there the treasure of ages be;  
"There wilt thou find great Jemshid's gem,‡  
"And Gian Ben Qian's bright diadem.  
"And the wealth of the Seventy-two is there—

"But, creature of clay! • •

"They're far away—

"Then why dost thou come to claim my care?

"The Seal § of the fifth king can controul  
"Genius and Giant, and Ogre and Ghoul;  
"By its power the tides of the sea are confined.

"It quenches the fire, and it hushes the wind—

"Say, dost thou seek this talisman true?  
"In its search there is many a peril to rue,  
"And ere it is won thou must wander far,  
"For buried it lies in Chuhulmonar.

"To-morrow the leaguering cohorts assail  
"The Hindoo, and well know I who will prevail;

"I ween by thy pistols, and sabre, and shield.

"That thou art just come from the tented field;

"But there is no charm, save the strength of thine arm,

"To vanquish thy foeman, and keep thee from harm.

"The friendly Simurgh|| through th' ethereal path,

"It was once said, bore Tahamurath;  
"The wonderful bird o'er the dark desert bore him.

"Till all from Kaf to Kaf¶ was before him;  
"He took from its bosom the plumes for his helm,

"Then where was the power that he could not o'erwhelm?

"But fled the Simurgh to the mountain that stands  
"On the shore\*\* that ne'er moves but when Alla commands.

"Mid noxious winds, and vapours damp  
"Love seldom flies to the warrior's camp;

"Once Rostum and Zal loved well, 'tis true,

Since then, such faith has been proved by few.

"O! com'st thou here like the nightingale  
"That hath no young rose to list his tale?

"Or does the Sultana of any lone heart,  
"Forgetting thy pain, play the tyrant's part?

"Or is she faithless, and hath she fled  
"To share with another her shame and bed?

"There once was a charm in the opal stone  
"To make the false heart all thine own;

"But the Peri-King came and stole the gem,

"And placed it in his own diadem;

"Since then, it has lost the potent spell  
"To bind the trait and the faithless well.  
In the cygnet's down there once was power

"To blight the woe of an evil heart;  
"But ah! the swan with her crest of pride

Spurns the purple Junna's tide.  
They say 'twas told to seers of old

That the faintest heart waxed warm and bold,

"If it could obtain,

"Regardless of pain,

And reckless of all that it counted loss,  
A plume from the wing of the albatross—

But that bird has poised him high in air,  
And, alas! his resting-place is there!††

Every mystic spell and charm  
That yielded bliss, or kept from harm,

\* These were a kind of Medusa  
Lamia supposed to be the most terrible  
and cruel of all the orders of the Dives,  
—Vide *Vathek* and *d'Herbelot*.

† Vide note A.

‡ Vide note B.

§ The seal of Soliman Jared. Vide note C

|| A fabulous bird. Vide note D.

¶ From one extremity of the earth to the other. Vide note E.

\*\* Sukhrat. Vide note F.

†† It is said that this bird sleeps while flying. ▲

"Is fled, is fled like a dream of the night,  
 "Save one that I must not bring to light,  
 "Save one that to name I must not dare—  
     "Then say, Oh! say  
     "Why, creature of clay,  
 "Hither thou com'st to claim my care?  
 "What to me is Jemshid's gem,  
 "Or the King of the Peri's diadem?  
 "Chuhulmenar is a city fair,  
 "But what to me is the wealth that's  
     there?  
 "The fifth King's seal on the wretch  
     bestow  
 "Whom slaves of Eblis\* have wrung with  
     woe;"

"No victim am I of a spectre foul,  
 "And why should I shrink from a hell-  
     hound's howl?  
 "I seek not to curb the chainless sea,  
 "And what are the winds and the waves to  
     me?  
 "Cold, cold on the sod at dawn I may lie,  
 "But somewhat I seek to know ere I die—  
 "Tis not my doom—perchance that's sealed,  
 "And now too late to be repealed;  
 "What'er it be, to heaven and it,  
 "With faith and patience I submit;  
 "But yet I could not brave the strife  
 "Without the fears which now I feel,  
 "Fears—not, alas! for mine own life.  
 "From me that scarce a thought could steal.  
 "Thou may'st have seen the tendril twine  
 "Around the green bough of the vine,—

How fresh and fair, how sweet and young  
 It looked, as to the branch it clung!  
 But when the bough was riven away  
 It ne'er survived the wreck a day!  
 Thou may'st have seen in many a grove  
 The queen of spring, the Bulbul's love!  
 How fair she smiled! her every leaf  
 Might give a glow to the cheek of grief,  
 And every odour that she shed  
 Imparted sweetness ere it fled.  
 Thou then perchance didst rudely tear  
 The flowret from its stalk, and wear  
 That fragile emblem of the fair  
 Upon thy breast—but it perished there!  
 So, like the tendril to its vine  
 Jumeeli's heart has clung to mine;  
 And as the rose from its own tree  
 Too soon she'd fade, if torn from me,  
 And Oh! I could not calmly die,  
 Untill I knew that all was well  
 With her, who claims my latest sigh—  
 If thou thus much to me canst tell,  
 If this, thy dark, prophetic eye  
 "Can see—I seek nor sign nor spell."

"There is a red streak in the east  
 "Of coming light it gives them warning  
 "To glorious brightness now increased,  
 "It shines upon the dews of morning.  
 "But where is Nazim, where his bride?  
 "To battle's red field, side by side  
 "They're gone."—

## NOTES.

(A) *Oh! Chuhulmenar is far from me.*

Chuhulmenar is the modern name of Istakhar. It signifies "forty pillars," so called (as Mrs. Ramsbottom would say) because forty pillars were built in it by Soliman Ben Daoud. It was known to the Greeks by the name of Persepolis, so famous in the history of "Macedonia's Madman." Here, it is said, are deposited the treasures of the seventy-two pre-adamite Sultans (about whom Mussulmans only pretend to know any thing,) and the diadem of Gian Ben Gian, the chief of the Genii, to whom the building of the pyramids of Egypt, as well as the temple of Soliman, has been ascribed. Gian Ben Gian is said to have reigned two thousand years over the Peris.

(B) *There wilt thou find great Jemshid's gem.*

Jemshid's gem has given birth to many oriental similes, and most of the Hindoo-

tanee poets have made allusions to it. I hope to be forgiven for having made mention of it here, as I have nowhere read of the gem of Jemshid being in Istakhar, although that Sultan built that city. The story of this gem, like that of many wonderful things, seems enveloped in a cloud of mystery, so that it may be all a fable, or I may be right.

(C) *The Seal of the fifth king can controul Genius and Giant, and Ogre and Ghoul.*

The most famous talisman of the east was the seal of Soliman Jared, fifth monarch of the world, after Adam. It not only controuled Genii and demons of all kinds, but the possessor of it had the entire command of the elements.—*Valhek. Richardson. D'Herbelot.*

(D) *The friendly Simurgh.*

"Rara avis in terris" and wonderful stories are told concerning it. For a more

particular account of it, I beg to refer the reader to Calif Vathek.

(E) Till all from Kaf to Kaf was before him. his helmet, and they have been since worn by the most renowned warriors of the east, who consequently have never wanted success.—Vathek.

This mountain, which is no other than Caucasus, was supposed to surround the world like a wall; and the sun, it was believed, rose from one of its eminences, and set on the opposite—hence “from Kaf to Kaf” signified *from one extremity of the earth to the other*. It was to this mountain that the Simugh bore Tahamurath through the air, and over the desert. From the breast of this bird he took the plumes for

(F) To the mountain that stands  
On the stone that ne’er moves but when  
Alla commands.

This stone is called *Sukhrat*, and resembles, or is thought to be, an emerald. On it stands mount Kaf; and when Alla commands it, or any of its fibres to move, an earthquake is produced.

In this abrupt fashion the tale ends, and the imagination is left to conceive what follows.

The rare merit of some of Sir Philip Sidney’s sonnets is too well known, to require that their excellence should be dilated on here. The XXXIst of *Astrophel and Stella* beginning

With how sad steps O! moon thou climb’st the skies,  
How silently, and with how wan a face,

And the XXXIXth.

Come sleep, O! sleep! the certain knot of peace,  
The baiting place of wit, the balm of woe,  
The poor man’s wealth, the prisoner’s release,  
The indifferent judge between the high and low,

are probably two of the most exquisite of the whole one hundred sonnets and songs of *Astrophel and Stella*; nevertheless we hazard the opinion that, with the exception of the XXXIXth there are a few of Derozio’s sonnets that come little, if anything, short in merit of some of the best productions of Sir Philip Sidney. The sonnets of the Eurasian lad, whose *Alma Mater* was a Dhurrum-tolah Adventure School, who never travelled beyond the limits of Bengal, and whose chivalry, charity and purity in some respects resembled Sidney’s, the idol of Elizabethan England, are likely to go down the stream of literature and time, side by side, with those of the representative of the “unstained young manhood” of England’s sixteenth century.

Here are some of Derozio’s Sonnets:—

#### TO THE RISING MOON.

Why art thou blushing Lady? Art thou ashamed	Now thou’rt ascending, melancholy queen!
To show thy full fair face? Behind yon screen	But the red rose has sickened on thy cheek, And there thou wanderest, sorrowful and
Of trees, which Nature has enrobed with green,	And heedless where thou’rt straying, sad and pale,
Thou stand’st as one whose hidden sins are named,	Like grief-struck maiden, who has heard revealed
Peeping the ‘safety crevices between.	To all the world, that which she wished con- cealed,
Like memory looking through the chinks of years	Her trusting loves, and hapless frailty’s tale.
For some fair island spot unsoiled by tears,—	



## TO THE MOON.

Lonely thou wanderest through wide heaven, Ah, no fit is that thou art too near earth  
 like one Ever to witness rosy pleasures birth;  
 That has some fearful deed of darkness done, And ceaseless gazing on the thousand showers  
 With grief upon thy cheek; while sad, Of ill that inundate the world of ours  
 despair Has touched thy heart, and bid thine aspect  
 Coldly refuseth thee a shelter, where be,  
 Repose might give thee welcome. Or hast thou For our misfortunes, pale with sympathy.  
 Washed with pale light thy melancholy brow,  
 Because the dream's hope brought thee once,  
 have fled,  
 And left the thoughts of sadness in their  
 stead?

These sonnets will probably recall to the reader's mind, the lines "To the Moon" of P. B. Shelley,—

Art thou pale for weariness And ever changing, like a joyless eye  
 Of climbing heaven, and gazing on the That finds no object worth its constancy?  
 earth,  
 Wandering companionless  
 Among the stars, that have a different  
 birth,—

Derozio's power of transferring to inanimate nature the living passions, hopes, and fears, of human nature loses nothing when compared with Shelley.

## DREAMS.

Dreams to the careworn soul are kindly given, Waking those fancies which, like scouts, are  
 Like revelations of the joys of heaven, hidden,  
 Without a taint of earth—so warm, so bright, Until the breeze upon the flower hath ridden,  
 Like spirits born of happiness and light. Bringing to light those thoughts like pearls  
 And it is this which makes me fondly deem that lie,  
 That love's a wild soft, ethereal dream! Till by thee driven from obscurity,  
 That dream once glided through my heart, They're brought for whiter necks.—O!  
 and brain. thus love shone  
 Giving new life to every parched-up vein, Upon my spirit—dark since love is gone.

## NIGHT.

## I.

For loneliness and thought this is the Night, Night, O Night! thou hast a gentle  
 hour:— face,  
 Now that thou smilest so beautiful and Like a fond mother's smiling o'er her  
 bright, child!  
 Oh! how I feel thy soul-subduing power, I gaze on thee till my soul swells apace  
 And gaze upon thy loveliness, sweet, With thoughts, and aspirations high, and  
 Night! wild.  
 There sails the moon, like a small silver Tis ever so; and there be some who find  
 bark That when the eye is fixed on boundless  
 Floating upon the ocean vast and dark: space,  
 Lovers should only look upon her light, turning the earth, vast grows the giant  
 And only by her light should lovers mind,  
 meet; And seeks in some bright orb a dwelling-  
 They catch an inspiration from the sight. place.  
 And all their words flow musically sweet, And it may be, that in my breast the fires  
 Like the soft fall of waters far away; Of hope, and fancy, both are burning  
 Their hearts run o'er with gladness, till bright;  
 they seem And all my aspirations, and desires  
 As if they were not beings of the day, May pass away, when with thy shadows,  
 But beautiful creations of a dream! Night!

## II.

But could my spirit fly from earth afar,  
'Twould dwell with one I love in yonder  
lovely star.

III.

Oh! how fond memory in the calm of night  
Brings to the mind young love, though  
love hath past,  
With all th' endearing things which gave  
delight,  
And which we once believed could always  
last!  
Oft at this hour, in happier days I deem,  
When, Time! thy foot fell softly upon  
flowers,  
And lighted by Diana's purest beam,  
Have youthful hearts enjoyed the passing  
hours;  
And as the lover named the loved-one's  
name,  
Pale grew her cheek, while glowed the  
fire within,  
Like pure asbestos whiten'd by the  
flame;—  
Then did the madness of his heart begin;  
And then he gazed upon her forehead fair,  
Then looked into her eyes, to see if love  
was there.

IV.

Swift as the dark eye's glance, or falcon's  
flight.  
Thought comes on thought, awakened by  
the night—  
And there are some which point toward  
the past,  
And fondly linger o'er life's twilight sky,  
Hailing the sacred star of memory;  
And thou, though lonely, thou, my poor  
heart, hast  
Much to muse over of past happiness;  
And though 'tis gone for ever, not the less  
Is it's remembrance dear:—but lo! a cloud  
Hath wrapt the moon, like beauty in a  
shroud!  
Hush! there is silence—but methinks mine  
ear  
A distant, sweet, seraphic hymn doth  
hoar—  
The stars alone are watching from above,  
Hush! 'tis the night wind's voice—ah! soft  
as her's I love.

V.

This to the soul of feeling, sadness brings,  
And painful thoughts of those who once  
were dear,  
But who, now far from bleak misfortune's  
sphere.  
Lay on, from world to world, with golden  
wines;  
This wakes in many an eye a hopeless  
tear;  
Tis vainly shed, for still the fond heart  
clings  
(Though sorrow all it's best enjoyments  
sear)  
Unto the memory of vanished things!—  
Thy moon 'is gone; and thus go those we  
love;  
The night winds wail; and thus for them  
we mourn;  
The stars look down; thus spirits from  
above  
Hallow the mourner's tears upon the urn.  
Some thoughts are all of joy, and some of  
woe:  
Mine end in tears—they're welcome—let  
them flow.

VI.

Ye tears that flow, ye sighs that break the  
heart,  
Ah! wherefore do ye not relieve the  
wound,  
The deadly wound, which Grief's envenomed  
dart  
Gives to the breast, whose blood must  
stream unbound?  
Ah! no, it must not be!—tears wildly start,  
And sighs are heaved, and blood sinks  
in the ground;  
But these bring no relief:—we look  
around,  
But vainly look for those who formed a part  
Of us, as we of them, and whom we  
wore  
Like gems in bezils, in the heart's deep  
core.  
Where are they now?—gone to that "nar-  
row cell"  
Whose gloom no lamp hath broken, nor  
shall break,  
Whose secrets never spirit came to tell:—  
O! that their day might dawn, for then  
they would awake.

There are several other of Derozio's minor pieces that will well repay the reading, indeed, there is scarcely any thing he ever wrote, which does not bear the impress of his strong fertile imagination and his culture. The "Poet's Habitation," the "New Atlantis," "Ada," "Address to the Greeks," "Poetic Haunts," and the "Golden Vase," are of all them productions of which poets whose name is written in the roll of the immortals, and whose memory is

enshrined in the hearts of their devotees, need not be ashamed. The latter, the "Golden Vase," is a subject which has been handled by poets since the days of Boccaccio. Keats dealt with it in his own melodious, sumptuous way, in his "Isabella, or the Pot of Basil." Derozio has woven round the theme a simple thread of burning love and woman's constancy, and his independent, natural treatment of the topic ought to have earned for him a warmer recognition of his genuine capacity, and the possession of the true poetic instinct.

Derozio cannot claim to rank in the foremost line of great poets. His was the first glad song of conscious power, poured forth, steeped in the feeling, passion, and imagination of his simple, boyish nature. Should the memoir which appeared in these pages, and this short notice of his poetry, in any way help to call attention to the brilliant lad, and his song of promise, they will have served their purpose, if they vindicate for him an humble place in

..... "the choir invisible,  
Of those immortal dead who live again  
In minds made better by their presence : live  
In pulses stirred to generosity,  
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn  
For miserable aims, that end with self,  
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night, like stars,  
And, with their mild persistence, urge men's search  
To vaster issues."

THOMAS EDWARDS.

ART. VI.—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF PORTUGUESE  
INDIA. BY E. REHATSEK.

*With a List of its Viceroy's, Governors, and Captains-General  
till 1881.*

AFTER having discovered the island of Mozambique and a portion of the coast of East Africa, Vasco da Gama sailed from Melinde on the 24th April 1498, taking with him a pilot to guide the Portuguese fleet to India, on whose shores he landed on the 20th May, at Calicut. Thus the possibility of reaching India by coasting along the African shores and crossing over to it, was practically demonstrated. Vasco da Gama was at first well received in Calicut and obtained an audience from the Zamorin or king of Malabar, to whom he had brought letters from his own sovereign; but as these letters were not accompanied by rich presents, they made very little impression upon the Indian monarch. In short, the first welcome given to Vasco da Gama and his companions was soon changed to coldness, and the Portuguese commander returned, after a forced sojourn of a few days on shore (where he had been retained against his will by the intrigues of the kotwal, or governor, of the town) to his fleet, and, having received from the Zamorin a letter for the king of Portugal, set sail for that country on the 29th August of the same year, taking with him some natives and various natural products of the country. In the course of his return voyage Vasco da Gama discovered, on the Malabar coast, the island of Angediva, which still belongs to Portugal. He arrived at Lisbon with the news of the important discovery, which was destined to produce a complete revolution in the commerce of Europe, to raise the political importance of Portugal to the highest pitch, and to procure for its sovereign the title of Lord of the conquest, navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Persia and India!

The King, D. Manuel, at once, in 1500, despatched to India a fleet of thirteen sail, commanded by Pedro Alvares Cabral, who had orders to establish a factory at Calicut, and was accompanied by a number of monks who were to preach Christianity to the Hindus. He arrived in Calicut with only six ships, four of the others having been lost in the region of the Cape of Good Hope, whilst of the three remaining vessels one reached Portugal, where also another afterwards carried the news of the discovery of Brazil, and the third, separated from the fleet beyond the Cape, strayed, through the ignorance of the pilot, into the Red Sea and returned with difficulty.

The influential people of Calicut received Pedro Alvares Cabral with the same false professions of amity, and the same dissimulation as had already disgusted Vasco da Gama. This time, however, matters culminated in a brawl with the mob, in which Ayres Correia, the factor of Calicut, was barbarously murdered, with all the Portuguese who happened to be on shore. When Cabral arrived with some people from the ships, it was too late; he could not save his countrymen, but he had the mournful satisfaction of wreaking his vengeance upon the town. Seeing that the Zamorin took no measures to chastise the assassins, Cabral set fire to all the vessels in port with their cargoes, and, having bombarded the town for a whole day, sailed with his fleet to Cochin, where he arrived on the 24th December.

The Chief of Cochin was pleased with the arrival of the Portuguese fleet, entered into negotiations, and allowed four of its ships to be loaded with pepper. From this port, which became afterwards celebrated, Cabral sailed to Cananore (the chief of which, as well as that of Quilon, had sent him ambassadors to Cochin), where he anchored on the 15th January 1501, and, having loaded his ships with four thousand quintals\* of spices, made sail for Portugal, where he arrived safely. João da Nova then sailed to India and discovered the island of Ascension, as well as another which he called after his own name. He landed on the Malabar coast at Cananore and established a factory there, as Pedro Alves had already done at Cochin. After a hot fight with the fleet of Calicut he returned to Portugal, discovering in the course of his voyage the island of St. Helena, which became afterwards the resort of the Portuguese Indian galleys on account of its excellent water.

The admiral D. Vasco da Gama returned a second time to India in 1502 with a powerful fleet, and bombarded Calicut, where he took many vessels belonging to the natives, and, having loaded some of his own with spices, returned to Portugal, leaving Vicente Sodré with a flotilla to cruise along the coasts of India. The latter, however, lost many of his people and ships on an island near the straits of the Red Sea.

When Francisco de Albuquerque, commander of one of the three fleets which sailed in 1503 from Lisbon to the East, arrived in Cochin, he found the king much embarrassed by a war which the Zamorin was waging against him on account of the friendship he had manifested towards the Portuguese. Accordingly the Portuguese commander easily induced him to allow a fort to be built for the defence of his own kingdom in the town of Cochin itself. This fort was forthwith constructed by the aid of another fleet that

\* One quintal makes 128 English pounds.

arrived shortly afterwards in command of the great Affonso de Albuquerque. During this, his first sojourn in the East, he established the Portuguese factory at Quilon, it being the third founded by them in those parts, not counting that of Calicut, which existed only one day.

Passing over the prowess displayed by Duarte Pacheco in the defence of Cochin, the victories he gained over the Zamorin, the aid he afforded to the factory of Quilon, and other services done by him to his country; passing over also the bravery of the new commander Lopo Soares, who bombarded Calicut more than once, and fought at Cranganore and Pandarano with the fleets of the Zamorin, we proceed to narrate the events which took place during the incumbency of D. Francisco de Almeida, the illustrious first Viceroy of India:—He embarked at Lisbon in the month of March 1505, commanding a fleet of twenty-two sail, carrying one thousand five hundred soldiers, many of whom were nobles. After some exploits on the east coast of Africa, he landed at Angediva, where he built a fort according to the instructions he had received. In this small island D. Francisco received the ambassadors of the chief of Onore, as well as proposals of amity from other Moslem chiefs of the vicinity, and, seeing the works of the fort in a sufficiently advanced state, he left the command of Angediva to Manuel Pezanha, who had arrived from Portugal, and sailed to the port of Onore. Meeting there with the same treachery that his predecessors had experienced at Calicut and other ports of this coast, he burnt all the ships he found in the harbour, not, however, without encountering a furious resistance on the part of the natives. Then D. Francisco sailed with his fleet to Cananore, where he had an interview with the chief of the country, and, having obtained permission to construct a fort, he began the work with all possible alacrity and the aid of Lourenzo de Brito, who had been appointed to the post and sent out from Portugal.

In conformity with his instructions D. Francisco assumed the title of Viceroy at Cananore. Shortly afterwards, hearing at Cochin the sad news that all the Portuguese residing in the factory at Quilon had been assassinated, he at once despatched his own son, D. Lourenzo de Almeida, with a flotilla to avenge this offence, and learnt a few days afterwards that his orders had been executed by the burning of all the vessels in the port of Quilon with the majority of their crews.

D. Francisco crowned, in the name of D. Manuel, King of Portugal, the son of the old King of Cochin, within the precincts of the fort of that town, and then despatched some loaded ships to Portugal, the captain of one of which, being the first who sailed from India to Europe outside the channel of Mozambique, discovered also the island of Madagascar.

## 324 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

D. Lourenzo de Almeida, who commanded the fleet of cruisers along the coast, destroyed the ships of the Zamorin near Cananore; brought relief to Angediva, the defenders of which had been heroically contending for a long time against the Moslems who had besieged the fort. Thence he sailed to reconnoitre the Maldivé islands and Ceylon, and brought the information to the Viceroy that they would be suitable as stations for watering and refitting the vessels of Malacca and Sumatra. Having brought this dangerous mission to a successful termination, he returned to Cochin, where he prepared himself for new adventures and combats.

The fleet which sailed to India in 1506 was commanded by Tristão da Cunha, who chastised certain Muhammadan chiefs on the east coast of Africa, inimical to the Portuguese, paid a visit to the island of Madagascar, and co-operated with the great Affonso de Albuquerque, who was cruising along the coast near Cape Guardafui, in the conquest of the island of Socotrâ. Arriving on the Malabar coast, he succoured the fort of Cananore which the new king of that country had attacked with such obstinacy that he reduced the Portuguese factory to the last extremity. Thence he sailed to Cochin in order to procure cargoes for the ships which he was to take to Portugal; but, learning that the Viceroy was about to attack some ship of Mekkah which had gone ashore at Panane, a harbour in the dominions of the Zamorin, he desired to accompany him in that expedition, and returned to Portugal only after having participated in the victory.

Meanwhile, in the year 1507, three fleets sailed from Lisbon to India; and the Viceroy, D. Francisco de Almeida, having learned that the maintenance of the fort of Angediva would be more expensive than its utility warranted, caused it to be razed. At the same time Affonso de Albuquerque explored the coast and the Sea of Arabia as far as the Persian Gulf, and conquered Ormuz. Shortly afterwards young D. Lourenzo de Almeida gloriously perished on the bar of Chaul, fighting, with his few ships against a large Moslem fleet, and Affonso de Albuquerque having been appointed governor of India, Jorge de Aguiar took his place as commander of the fleet at the mouth of the Red Sea.

Albuquerque met the viceroy at Cananore to take charge of the government, but D. Francisco refused to surrender his power before he had avenged the death of his son, and sailed with the whole fleet in search of the Musulmâns. The first locality on which the fierce warrior vented his rage was Dabul, which he levelled to the ground, and after robbing, slaughtering and burning everything and everybody, he left the opulent town a deserted heap of ruins! Thence he sailed to Chaul, the chief of which place, trembling with fear, became tributary to Portugal.

Sailing to Diu, the Viceroy encountered the united fleets of Melik Iyar and Mir Húshem, who had been the cause of his son's death, and destroyed them. Returning to Cochin, D. Francisco levied tribute from vassal-chiefs, and, strangely enough, would not surrender the government of India to Affonso de Albuquerque till he was captured and sent prisoner to the fort of Cananore. Whilst the contest between the partisans of the Viceroy and his successor still continued, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, who commanded a fleet of discovery to Malacca, arrived, and in his company the celebrated but disloyal navigator, Fernão de Magalhães, who afterwards tried to deprive the Portuguese of the Moluccas in order to deliver them to the King of Spain. Diogo Lopes, unwilling to be mixed up in the contentions about the viceroyalty in Malabar, continued his voyage and discovered the large island of Sumatra, and, landing afterwards in Malacca, concluded a treaty with the king and established a Portuguese factory, which was however at once burnt by the people of the town. Not having sufficient forces to avenge the misdeed, he returned to Portugal, where he arrived safely in 1510.

In March 1509 a fleet of fifteen sail, commanded by D. Francisco Continho, set out from Lisbon, with instructions to instal Affonso de Albuquerque. Having arrived at Cananore, D. Francisco took with him the future founder of the Portuguese empire in the East to Cochin, where D. Francisco de Almoida at once surrendered the government to him. Shortly afterwards the deposed Viceroy embarked on his voyage to Portugal, but never reached that country, being killed by the natives while the ships were taking in water at a place called Agoada de Saldanha, on the east coast of Africa. D. Francisco Continho and the new governor now attacked with one thousand eight hundred troops the town of Calicut, which was reduced to ashes; not, however, without great loss to the Portuguese, D. Francisco Continho himself being among the slain. Returning to Cochin, Affonso de Albuquerque sent reinforcements to the fort of Socotrâ, and got ready for undertaking a new warlike expedition.

Goa then became the theatre of Portuguese valour, and was conquered by Affonso de Albuquerque, but again abandoned in consequence of the great power of A'dil Khan, who besieged the town, which, however, on the 25th November 1510, fell definitively into the power of the Portuguese. After having taken Goa from the Musalmâns, Affonso de Albuquerque encountered much opposition in establishing an administration and settling a Christian population; his genius, however, triumphed over all difficulties, and he made Goa the capital of Portuguese India. During the above named year the fort of Socotrâ was

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dismantled by an order from the Court of Portugal, which did not consider it worth maintaining, and on the 2<sup>qd</sup> May of the next year this governor sailed with a large fleet to conquer Malacca.

Afonso de Albuquerque captured five Guzerati ships during his voyage, and, on reaching the island of Sumatra, landed first at Pedir, and then at Pacem, and was well received by the chiefs of both those ports. When the governor arrived in Malacca, he demanded prompt satisfaction for the insults received there by Diogo Lopes, and, not obtaining any, he assaulted the town, but was obliged again to return to his ships, in spite of the prodigies of bravery he had performed. In a second attempt, however, he was more successful, and subjected a portion of the island to the sway of Portugal; he established an administration in the town, to which he, with singular good tact, appointed natives of the various nationalities which inhabited it. He received embassies from the kings of Java and Siam, despatched envoys of his own to Pegu, had the Molucca and Banda islands reconnoitred, and returned to India at the beginning of the year 1512, leaving Ruy de Brito Patalim to be the first captain of Malacca.

Whilst the great Albuquerque was absent in Malacca, Goa was besieged by a Musalmán army, and reduced to the last extremity; its valorous defenders, however, did not give way, and were relieved by reinforcements which arrived with a fleet from Portugal in 1511.

The ship of Albuquerque was wrecked on the coast of Sumatra, but he, with the whole crew, embarked in another vessel and arrived safely at Cochin. Having there transacted business concerning this and other forts of India, and having also despatched ships laden with pepper to Europe, the governor sailed to Goa, which was again threatened by the forces of the Sultán of Bêjapur, took possession of the fort of Benasterim, which capitulated, and raised the siege of Goa. Negotiations with the Zamorin of Calicut ensued, and Albuquerque also received an ambassador from the king of Abyssinia, or *Preste-João*, as the Portuguese called him, as well as envoys from the chiefs of Ormuz, Narsinga, Cambay, and from Melik Yaz, the commander of Diu.

Having made all the necessary arrangements for the defence of Goa, Albuquerque ordered the construction of a fort at Calicut under an arrangement with the Zamorin, and appointed Francisco Nogueira captain of it. The governor then embarked with his best troops in a fleet of twenty ships, and sailed to the straits of Bab-el-mandeb in February 1513. Before reaching them, however, he attacked Aden, escalading its walls with one thousand Portuguese and four hundred Malabaris, but met with such obstinate resistance from the Arabs, that he retired to his ships after

having suffered a considerable loss of men. He desired to attack the town again and to capture it, but the season for entering the Red Sea, to navigate, which was his chief intention, having almost elapsed, he abandoned Aden and entered the straits.

Struggling with the difficulties of a perilous navigation unknown to the pilots, Albuquerque entered the straits of the Red Sea, but was unable to reach the port of Jeddah as he had intended. After various attempts, which proved fruitless on account of unfavourable winds, the fleet reached the island of Kámrán where it wintered, laden as it was with the spoils of numerous Musalmán vessels which the Portuguese had captured, plundered and burnt. The west-winds had, however, scarcely set in, when the fleet departed from Kámrán and landed at Mejúm (Perim) at the mouth of the straits. There Albuquerque erected a large cross as a sign that he had taken possession of everything in the straits beyond this island, the name of which he changed to *Vera Cruz*. He then cast anchor near Aden, whence he despatched Ruy Galvão, with João Gomes, to reconnoitre the town of Zeilah on the African coast, an errand which they successfully accomplished and rejoined him. Aden being, however, now even more strongly fortified than when the Portuguese had first attacked it, a council was held at which it was decided not to assault it, but the bombardment resolved upon caused great havoc among the shipping in the harbour, nearly the whole of which was destroyed. The fleet sailed on the 4th August to India; and, landing at Diu, Albuquerque had an interview with Melik Yaz, in which he agreed to receive a Portuguese factor who would superintend the loading of a ship which was there for the purpose of receiving cargo. From Diu, Albuquerque sailed to Chaul, where he captured several Musalmán ships, and at last arrived at Goa.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese of the port and town of Malacca were engaged in constant struggles, and whilst the commander of those seas defeated Javanese fleets, the governor of the town had to defend the walls of the town against the Malays. Fortune, however, smiled upon the great Albuquerque. His envoys to Siam and to Pegu, as well as the captains whom he had charged to visit the Molucca islands, returned together to Goa with the triumphant army of Fernão Peres de Andrade, who scoured the seas of Malacca and cleared them of enemies. The prudent governor was, however, not always bent on new conquests, but, desiring to maintain those already made, visited the forts of India during an interval of peace, to see how they were governed. He sailed to Cananore, where he remained several days, and then passed on to Calicut to inspect the fort in progress there. He also remained

a short time in Cochin, and then returned to Goa to make preparations for a new expedition during the winter. Meanwhile he despatched his nephew Pero de Albuquerque, with four vessels, to the straits of the Red Sea, in order to capture vessels coming from Suez or Mekkah, and to proceed in the beginning of the monsoon to Ormuz to receive the tribute due there, and report on the state of the fort which Albuquerque had begun to build in that island, and lastly to discover the island of Bahrain in the Persian Gulf. When Pero de Albuquerque navigated to the straits, Diogo Fernandes de Bejo departed with an embassy to the Sultán of Guzerat, or king of Cambay, as the Portuguese preferred to call that sovereign, in order to obtain permission to erect a fort in Diu. At the same time also Joao Gonzalves de Castello Branco went to propose to the Sultán of Bejapur that he should exchange a portion of the mainland belonging to him for permission to receive Persian horses into his dominions, which trade the Portuguese considered to be contraband except in Goa, their own port. From this proposal an idea may be formed of the power they already arrogated to themselves along the coasts of India at that time.

In September 1514, the ships annually due from Lisbon arrived in Goa, and, when they had been loaded with spices in Cochin, again sailed home. Albuquerque fitted out a fleet of twenty-seven sail, with which he departed from Goa on the 21st February 1515, and, after touching at Maskat, anchored at Ormuz on the 26th March. There he again took possession of the fort which the Musalmáns had occupied during his absence, made the necessary arrangements for its defence and appointed Pero de Albuquerque its commandant. Being very ill, he resolved to return to Goa, where Lopo Soares, his successor in the government of India, had already arrived; but, although Albuquerque reached the capital, he did not go on shore, but expired on the 16th December 1515, on board the same vessel in which he had sailed from Ormuz.

Lopo Soares de Albergaria, or Alvarenga, arrived with one thousand five hundred combatants, many of whom belonged to the highest nobility of Portugal. His arrival in the East was, however, coincident with the return to Portugal of all the brave and disinterested cavaliers of the school of D. Francisco de Almeida and Albuquerque. After this period the conquerors applied themselves with much diligence to the acquisition of wealth, and their chivalry vanished.

As soon as Lopo Soares had provided for the necessities of the forts on the Malabar coast, he despatched a fleet to Ormuz, and another to China, and prepared a large one in which he intended to sail up the Red Sea, as far as Suez, to attack the ships of the

Sultán of Egypt. He actually departed from Goa in February 1516, and, on arriving at Aden, was received with much civility by the commandant, who offered him the keys of the place. This proceeding is explained by the fact that a fleet of the Sultán had recently paid a visit to Aden and much battered its walls with artillery. The presence of the large fleet of Lopo Soares also contributed to the friendly offer of the Arab commander, which, however, was not accepted, because Lopo Soares was unwilling to divide his forces by leaving a garrison in the fort, though he intended to take possession of it on his return from the Red Sea. Lopo Soares now entered the straits and touched at the island of Kamarán, where he found that four of his ships were missing. As he had obtained information from a Venetian barque he had met, that the fleet of the Sultán was in the port of Jeddah, he sailed there, but, the entrance to the harbour being difficult, and the booty to be obtained in the town slender, probably because the inhabitants had removed their wealth to a place of security, a council of the captains was held and the decision arrived at, that neither a descent upon the town, nor an attempt to burn the fleet of the Sultán should be made. Lopo Soares agreed in this decision and ordered the fleet to sail immediately to Kamarán and winter there. As soon as the weather allowed, the fleet cruised about in search of the exit from the straits of the Red Sea and cast anchor at Zeilah, which Lopo Soares destroyed by fire, on the pretext that its inhabitants had greatly favoured the ships of the Sultán, but most probably from disgust at the bootless expedition he had undertaken. Returning to Aden, he found that the commander had changed his mind and was unwilling to become tributary to Portugal. Finding also that his forces were not capable of taking the fort, that his provisions, which were running short, could not be replaced by fresh ones, and that even his water was giving out, he determined to sail with all speed to the port of Barбора, but a terrible storm dispersed the ships, all of which perished with their crews, except that of Lopo Soares, who arrived safely in it at Ormuz. Such was the miserable fate of this piratic expedition! That year, however, was disastrous to the Portuguese by land also, as the people of Goa, who had made an incursion upon the continent, were driven back with great loss and besieged. The garrison of Malacca was in the same plight, and suffered not only the miseries of a siege, but also those of famine. As soon as the governor reached India, he met the forces which had recently arrived from Europe, and sent reinforcements in various directions. He despatched a ship to the Maldive islands, and a small fleet commanded by Antonio de Saldanha to the coast of Arabia, and burnt the town of Barбора, near the harbour of Zeilah.

In September 1518 the governor sailed with a fleet of seventeen ships from Cochin to Ceylon, with the intention of building a fort there. On his arrival he met with resistance, and, disembarking at Colombo with his troops, attacked the natives, devastating their possessions with fire and sword, to establish Portuguese supremacy. Shortly afterwards he accepted proposals of peace from the sovereign of the island, who became a tributary to Portugal, and with the aid of the workmen he had sent, the building of the fort was promptly completed in the month of November of the same year. Duarte de Coelho concluded peace in the name of the King of Portugal with the monarch of Siam, whilst Fernao Peres de Andrade scoured the seas of China and cast anchor at Canton.

His term of three years of government, which was the usual period—as also that of the captains—and most of the officers in the forts of India—having expired, Eopo Soares was relieved of his office by Lopes de Sequeira, the discoverer of Malacca, and former captain of Arzila, and returned to Portugal in January 1519. The new governor immediately began taking energetic measures to carry out the instructions which the king had given him. He despatched João Gomes Cheira-dinheiro to the Maldives in order to construct a fort in the principal island; then he proceeded in person to quell the disturbances of Baticulá, and compelled its governor to pay the tribute he owed. He also despatched Antonio Saldanha with a fleet to cruise on the Arabian coast, and to winter in Ormuz. He sent Simão de Andrade, brother of Fernão Peres, as commander of a fleet to China, and charged Antonio Correia to conclude peace with the king of Pegu. The town of Malacca being much disturbed by its turbulent neighbours, especially by the king of Bintan, Diogo Lopes hastened to send reinforcements there, which arrived just in time to enable the defenders to become aggressors, and to chastise those who had attacked Malacca by sea, as well as some chiefs of the island of Sumatra, who had done so by land.

On the 13th February 1520 the governor set out in person at the head of three thousand combatants, consisting of Portuguese and natives, with ten large ships, two galleons, five galleys, two chartered ships, two Latin carracks and one brigantine, with the intention of sailing up the Red Sea, erecting a fort in one of its islands, and destroying the Turkish fleet. The first of these intentions could not be realised, because no materials were at hand for building, or provision made for victualling a fort in the island of Massowa, where the fleet was anchored for some time; as to the second, its execution was impossible, because no Turks could be found. The governor nevertheless profited by this

opportunity in the best way he could, and made a treaty of peace with the king of Abyssinia in the port of Arquico, through his chief captain, to whom he also entrusted an ambassador to his sovereign from the king of Portugal, namely, D. Rodrigo de Lima with thirteen persons in his suite, as well as the envoy from Abyssinia who had been in Goa, and was there known by the name of Padre Matheus.

After wintering in Ormuz with a portion of his fleet, Diogo Lopes returned to India, despatched laden ships to Portugal, and got a fleet ready to attack Diu. Meanwhile, Ruy de Mello, captain of Goa, succeeded in obtaining possession of a portion of the continent adjoining the island, whilst the king of Narsinga and the Sultán of Bejapur were waging war against each other and had no opportunity to interfere. Captain Lopo de Brito, in the fort of Ceylon, was less successful, having been five months besieged by great numbers of Hindus and Musalmáns, and being almost ready to capitulate when reinforcements from Cochin reached him.

In the very beginning of 1521 the governor sailed with a great army to Diu, bent on attacking the town. Considering, however, the state of defence in which he found the harbour, and the votes of all the captains of the fleet, he desisted from his undertaking, wintered at Ormuz, and despatched ships on various expeditions according to the orders he had received from Portugal.

Jorge de Albuquerque went to Pacem for the purpose of installing on the throne the heir of the legitimate king, who had fled to India to escape being assassinated, as his father had been. Jorge de Albuquerque made the new monarch a tributary of the Portuguese crown, erected a fort on the bar of the river, and went to Malacca, whence he sent Antonio de Brito to the Molucca islands in order to build a fort at Ternate; but Antonio de Abreu was the first, who had by order of Affonso de Albuquerque, conquered these islands of Oceania, and gradually visited Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Jidore, and others, meeting with a friendly reception at the hands of the natives in all of them. Others met with the same success in those regions after him, and Antonio de Brito likewise, although a Spanish factory had already been established at Ternate, where he laid the foundations of the fort of S. João Baptista de Ternate on the 24th June 1522. At that time, however, D. Duarte de Menezes governed India, his predecessor Diogo Lopes having departed to Europe after commencing the erection of a fort at Chaul, of which he appointed Henrique de Menezes the first commander.

The new governor at once began the business of administration with activity and prudence, in conformity with the instructions he

had brought from the Court of Portugal. On the pretext that the income of the State in Ormuz was being robbed, the king of Portugal determined to appoint his own officers to take charge of the custom-house of the town ; but the sovereign of the country, to whom this great zeal for his interests appeared suspicious, ordered his officious protectors to be attacked in the night, and many of them perished fighting, whilst the rest sought refuge in the fort. When, however, the Musalmáns saw that, in spite of the siege by water and by land to which they had subjected the fort, they were unable to get rid of a handful of Portuguese, they set that famous and once wealthy town on fire, and emigrated to the adjoining much larger island of Kishim. D. Luiz de Menezes, who arrived with reinforcements sent by the governor of India, succeeded in again making peace with the king of Ormuz, and delivering the few defenders of the fort from the imminent peril in which they were placed.

About this time also the portion of the mainland near Goa, which Ruy de Mello had taken a few years before, was lost, and the governor was yet unwilling to recover it, because of the peace which subsisted between the Sultán of Bejapur and the Portuguese. Nor was Martin Affonso de Mello Continho more successful in the expedition he undertook in 1522 for the purpose of erecting a fort in China. He met with such a reception from the fleets of the Celestial Empire, that he remained scarcely a fortnight in those seas. D. Saúcho Henriques fared still worse, and many of his people lost their lives fighting against the king of Bintam, who was likewise victorious in combating the Portuguese. During the same year also the foundations of the town of S. Thomé, at a short distance from ancient Meliápúr, on the Coromandel Coast, were laid by the Portuguese.

In 1524 the Count and Admiral D. Vasco da Gama arrived, with the title of Viceroy of India. He brought orders to raze the forts of Quilon, Ceylon, Calicut and Pacem, and to build one in Sunda, but could not execute them, as he died three months and twenty days after again obtaining sight of the coast of India, which he had discovered twenty-seven years before.

His successor, D. Henrique de Menezes, burnt places belonging to the Zamorin, such as Pauane and Coulete, which incensed him so much against the Portuguese in the fort of Calicut, that its defenders were obliged to destroy it, after suffering great hardships, and seek safety in flight. About this time D. Rodrigo de Lima returned from Abyssinia, accompanied by an ambassador whom the sovereign of that country had sent to the king of Portugal.

The town of Malacca had, from the day of its conquest, enjoyed

but few intervals of tranquillity, and had also suffered reverses, chiefly at the hands of the king of Bintam. At last, however, Pero Mascarenhas assumed the offensive and destroyed his town. In the Molucca Islands, too, war broke out. Jidore was destroyed by the captain of Ternate, and the Portuguese were alternately at war with the natives, and with the Spaniards, who desired to obtain possession of these islands.

Passing over in silence the contest between Pero Mascarenhas and Lopo Vaz de Sampaio for the right of governing India, as well as the prowess of the latter by sea, and the aid afforded by him to the Portuguese establishment in Ceylon, we take notice of the arrival in Ormuz of the new governor of India, Nuno da Cunha, after having spread dismay along the coast of Eastern Africa. When he arrived in Ormuz, the irritation was great in the island, but he succeeded in calming it and maintaining Portuguese supremacy. He met there also Captain Belchior de Sousa Tavares, who had sailed up the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and was returning from Bozrah, where he caused the Portuguese arms to be feared. Being informed that every thing was at peace in those regions, Nuno da Cunha sailed to India, whence he sent his predecessor, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, a prisoner to Portugal. He then provided for the necessities of the strongholds in Malabar, pursued the foes of the Portuguese by sea and by land, and spread terror along the coast of Guzerat through his Captain Antonio da Silveira. Some important towns, such as Surat, Reirer and Agacim, were first sacked and then burnt by the Portuguese.

Whilst Heitor da Silveira resolved to make Aden tributary to Portugal, Nuno da Cunha undertook an expedition to Diu. In his voyage he touched at Damaon, the port of which had long been abandoned by its Portuguese garrison, and was now held by the Sultan of Guzerat. He exterminated the inhabitants of the island of Beth, where he had met with furious resistance, and which was then surnamed the island of the dead. On arriving at Diu he commenced to bombard the town, but was obliged to desist, because some of the best guns he had brought burst, and because the place was better defended than he had supposed. He then built a fort in the harbour of Challeh with the consent of the Zamorin in whose possessions it was; and its first captain was Diogo Pereira (1531). He also sent Diogo da Silveira to burn and destroy the towns of Patane, Pate and Mangalore. At that time conflagrations, plunder and slaughter accompanied the Portuguese wherever they set foot; and their name became execrable in consequence. In 1533 the town of Bassein succumbed in its turn, and was entered and destroyed by Nuno da Cunha, who razed it to its foundations. Afterwards the Sultan



of Guzerat ceded the island on which the town was situated, together with the adjacent mainland, to the King of Portugal. The next year the fort of Damaon was razed by Martim Affonso de Sousa, the captain of the Indian seas, and shortly afterwards the fort of Diu was built in accordance with a treaty between the governor of India and the Sultán of Guzerat. This success gave occasion for the daring feat of Diogo Botelho Pereira, who carried the good news to the king of Portugal, and arrived from India in a very small vessel. The new fort of Bassein was begun on the same occasion.

Nuno da Cunha recovered the mainland adjacent to Goa, whilst Martim Affonso de Sousa, on his part, chastised the sovereign of Calicut; but the same good luck failed the Portuguese in Malacca and in the Molucca islands, where their blood was shed not only by foes, but by themselves in the inglorious contests with each other in which they indulged. The fort of Diu was likewise in great jeopardy. Its captain, Manuel de Sousa, having been killed by the Moslems, and their Sultán Bahádúr Sháh in his turn by the Portuguese, Antonio da Silveira de Menezes took the command of the fort, and had to endure a close siege by water and by land, in which the forces of the Turkish Pasha Sulaimán were united to those of Guzerat, commanded by Khájah Sufur or Já'far, till at last the siege was raised and peace concluded when D. Garcia de Noronha, the new Viceroy, went in person to Diu.

Antonio Gulvão, who was at that time governing the Molucca Islands, founded a seminary to instruct the youth of that archipelago (1536), and sent missionaries to convert the polytheists of Celebes and Macassar, and the ship in which they sailed, with Captain Francisco de Castro, being thrown out of its route by a storm, caused him to discover the yet unknown islands of Mindauan in 1540, while it was only three years afterwards that Bernardo de Torre again found them. In 1540 also the Franciscan Vicente de Lagos established the college of St. Thiago at Cranganore for the purpose of educating the children of Hinda converts to Christianity; and in 1541 the seminary of Santa Fé at Goa, afterwards transformed into a Jesuit college, was founded.

D. Estevão da Gama, the successor of D. Garcia in the government of India, sailed with a large fleet to the Red Sea, and after various successes in different places on those shores, he left many noble cavaliers in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, despatched his own brother D. Christovão with four hundred soldiers to the king of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), a great friend of the sovereign of Portugal, to be his body-guard (1541), and intended also to invest Suez, but, finding from the state of defence in which that harbour was, that he would meet with great resistance, he

returned to India in order to despatch the usual laden ships to Europe, and to prepare himself for a new campaign.

Japan was discovered in 1542 by three Portuguese, Antonio Mota, Francisco Zeimoto, and Antonio Peixoto, who traded in a small junk to the port of Chichen, and were thrown by a typhoon among that archipelago. At that time the Portuguese had already a provisional establishment in China, namely, at Liampo or Ningpó, whence they were expelled. Those who had not perished in 1542 went then to Chichen in the same empire, and afterwards, in 1542, to Macao, which the Chinese Government had ceded them.

Martim Affonso de Sousa, who was the successor of D. Estevão in the government of India, destroyed the town of Batecala, and committed other mischief in India by sea and by land. In his time the Molucca Islands came altogether into the possession of the King of Portugal, their last sovereign having constituted him his heir; and the same thing took place with the provinces of Bardez and Salsete, on the mainland of India, in 1543, but by a treaty.

During the incumbency of the next governor D. João de Castor, the memorable second siege of Diu took place, its brave commander being D. João Mascarenhas. The governor himself, having arrived with reinforcements, put an end to the siege, and destroyed the chief places along the coast of Cambay. Not long afterwards D. Jorge de Menezes took the town of Broach (1547) whilst Antonio Marla Barreto marched fighting and conquering, through the island of Ceylon, and D. Diogo de Almeida, the captain of Goa, routed the enemies on the mainland of Salsete. Afterwards João de Castro took the fort of Ponda, despatched his son D. Alvaro to Surat, bombarded the towns of Patc, Patan and Dabul, attacked the province of Salsete and devastated the whole northern coast. Covered with glory and honored with the title of Viceroy, D. João de Castro died at Goa, after having surrendered the government to the Bishop, D. João de Albuquerque.

The government of India being vacant, D. João Mascarenhas was to have taken charge of it first, and then D. Jorge Tello. As they, however, departed to Portugal, a third noble, Garcia de Sa, became governor, but, dying after a short tenure, was succeeded by a fourth, namely, Jorge Cabral.

At this time (1550) envoys from Barcelore arrived in Goa, offering the vassalage of the town, and promised to pay annually 500 fardos\* of rice. The Portuguese, however, continued to fight incessantly in Malacca, Ceylon, Ormuz, the Moluccas, and the coast of India became the theatre of perpetual warfare. The

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\* One *fardo* means forty-two Portuguese pound.

### 336 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

defenders of Maskat were, however, unsuccessful, and were, in 1554, compelled to surrender the place to the Turks, who had besieged it. After that D. Constantino de Braganza took the town and fort of Damaon, and still later the town of Jafnapatam. By his orders Luiz de Mello da Silva destroyed also the town of Mangalore, and chastised the population along the coast of Malabar which had conspired against the Portuguese fort of Cananore.

Henceforth the glory of the Portuguese in India began steadily to decline, and D. Luiz de Athaide soon found that several kings of India had entered into a league to oppose them. They besieged Chaul, Goa, Onore, which the Portuguese defended bravely, but the garrison of Challelt was compelled to surrender. After that the Court of Portugal came to the determination to divide Portuguese India into three governments, appointing D. Antonio de Noronha over the countries situated between Cape Guardafu, and the island of Ceylon; Antonio Moniz Barreto over a portion of Pegu as far as China, and Francisco Barreto over the eastern coast of Africa. This division lasted, however, but a short time, and the government of all the eastern possessions of Portugal continued to be administered by one viceroy until the captaincy of Sofala and Mozambique was detached from the Government of India.

The following were the chief forts that hoisted at this time the Portuguese standard in the East:—Diu, Damaon, Goa, Bassein, Chaul, Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cananore Cranganore, Colombo, Cochin, Coriate, Calaiate, Ormuz, Malacca, Ternate, Tidore, Amboyna, Salore, Timore and Macao.

In 1518 the inhabitants of Barcelore made a treacherous attempt to take the fort of that name, but it was succoured in time by the reinforcement which the Viceroy sent, and continued under Portuguese jurisdiction. In 1584 a Portuguese custom-house was established at Cochin, after serious resistance on the part of the inhabitants. In 1585 a new fort was built at Panane, a harbour of the Zamorin, the first captain of which was Ruy Gonzalves de Camara. In 1586 the number of the judges in the supreme court of judicature at Goa was augmented, new appointments of magistrates were made, and men of education installed as comptrollers or auditors (ouvidores) in the forts. In this year also the ship "S. Philippe," which was returning from India with a valuable cargo, was taken near the Azores by the English fleet, commanded by Drake. D. Paulo de Lima, the Captain of Malacca, entered and destroyed the town of Jor, but the fort of Colombo underwent a close siege, and was bravely defended by its captain, João Correia de Brito.

In 1594 the Portuguese took a Moslem fort called "Morro de Chaul," opposite the town of that name, because it incommoded

and commanded the Portuguese fort with its artillery. In 1596 D. João Perea Pandor, the king of Ceylon, died, but, he having made the king of Portugal his heir, the latter was proclaimed sovereign of the whole island in the town of Colombo.

At this time the Hollanders already began to molest the Indian seas and to harass the fort of Malacca, but encountered heroic resistance on the part of the Portuguese. While hostilities continued in the East, the provident Government of Lisbon authorised the viceroys and governors to bestow dowries upon noble girls whose fathers had fallen in combat. In 1595 a custom-house was established at Damão; and Furtado Mendonza inaugurated the beginning of the seventeenth century by his famous victory over, and capture of, the pirate "Cunhale," a rebellious vassal of the Zamorin, who was afterwards beheaded at Goa. Immediately afterwards Salvador Ribeiro de Sousa, who had been proclaimed king of Pegu, at the demand of the king of Portugal, surrendered the fort of Sirião to an envoy of the Viceroy and abandoned his possessions; this, however, proved to be a political error of the Portuguese Government, for which it was punished by again losing the fort, together with its Captain Philippe de Brito Nicote (in 1613).

By an agreement between the Viceroy of India and the Nawáb, the first Portuguese factor was in 1611 appointed at Surat. When D. Jeronimo de Azevedo became Viceroy in 1612 and left Ceylon, which he had governed eighteen years, the greater portion of that island was subject to Portugal. D. Jeronimo brought immense wealth to Goa, which he spent with the liberality of a prince, but he was not very happy in his new government.

The English now made their appearance before Surat with one ship and a patacho (small vessel) only, but the captain of the port could effect nothing against them, although he attacked them with four galleys, their men being well trained and their artillery good, whilst his were mostly ignorant Malays, and his guns few. The decadence of the Portuguese in the East had now become so evident and palpable, that even the most incredulous and blind could perceive it. Antonio Pinto da Fonseca, who had been expressly sent from Europe to inspect the forts of India, found everything in the greatest disorder, and Antonio Burreto da Silva, who proceeded as ouvidor (auditor and comptroller) to Malacca, found most of the artillery of the place dismantled, and the inhabitants divided into factions, in arms, and doing each other more harm than they had ever suffered from the Hollanders, the Achinese, the Javanese or the Malays. In 1613 the ambassador of the Shah of Persia, who had returned from his mission to Portugal, arrived, and in his company D. fr. Antonio de Gouveia,

### 338 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

the first bishop of Sirene, who was vested with the charge of the Christian flock of Persia, but who never went beyond the fort of Ormuz, on account of news he had received from the missionaries of Persia who were suffering persecution in that country.

The contests in the vicinity of Chaul and Bassein continued, and the captain of the latter place courageously defended himself in the fort, and afterwards carried fire and sword into the surrounding country. The town of Gogo in the peninsula of Cambay, was taken and destroyed by the Portuguese in 1614, and the towns of Pore, forty leagues from Diu, of Broach and of Barbute, shared the same fate.

The fleet which arrived in 1615, brought the strange decision that all Government posts should be sold, and the money thus obtained applied to public purposes. At that time social morality was already low enough, but it reached its worst depth when the doors of preferment were opened to money only, and closed to merit and honorable emulation.

Sebastião Gonçalves Tiban, desirous of reconquering Pegu, obtained reinforcements from the Viceroy of India and burnt the fleet of the king of Arracan in 1615, but, having been taken prisoner in the island of Sunda, expiated his cruelties on the scaffold. In the same year the fort of Cranganore suffered a close siege, which was raised by D. Bernardo de Noronha; at the same time D. Diogo de Sousa burnt in the port of Calicut a ship laden with rich merchandise belonging to the Zamorin. In 1616 Ruy Dias de Sampaio was charged to restore peace at Meliapur, where it had been shamefully disturbed by the Portuguese inhabitants, who fought against each other with the obstinacy of sworn enemies. Shortly afterwards, also, the instigators of the rivalries between the people of Chaul and Bassein, and among the inhabitants of Tarapur and Tannah were chastised. In connexion with these internal troubles, the Portuguese arms suffered all kinds of reverses both by sea and by land, during this unhappy epoch, in which the power of the English and of the Dutch fleets increased, and contributed to the decay of the Portuguese. In this manner Ormuz was lost for ever in 1622.

The moral gangrene of Portuguese India had now made such progress, that not even the capital punishments to which some of the first nobility had been condemned for extortion, brutality, or cowardice, could arrest its march. In 1622 and 1623 even the elements appear to have conspired against the fleets of Malabar; in 1624, however, the Portuguese again fought victoriously in the Persian Gulf under the famous Captains, Nuno Alvares Botelho and Ruy Freire de Andrada, as well as afterwards on the Malacca coast again, under the command of Botelho,

one of the last heroes of India. In the same year, on the 12th May, the Portuguese took possession of the island of Cambolim, which was ceded to them by the sovereign of Canara. But in 1633 they lost Golim (Hooghly) in the kingdom of Bengal, and all who dwelt in that flourishing settlement were slain by the troops of the Mogul emperor; a few years afterwards (in 1639), however, when one of his powerful armies besieged Damaon, the Portuguese repulsed it after a sanguinary combat. The successes were, however, now getting rare in comparison to the reverses of fortune; the golden periods of the Albuquerque, of the Pachecos, and of the Cunhas had totally disappeared.

Malacca followed the destiny of Ormuz; its Captain, Manuel de Sousa Continho, yielded to the combined forces of the Hollanders and the subjects of the king of Piam, and surrendered the place in 1641, after a siege of twenty-five months, which he resisted with heroic bravery. At the same time the news arrived in Goa that some Portuguese had been killed in Japan, and that commerce in that archipelago was entirely interrupted. Even the capital of India itself, besieged as it was by the Hollanders, well nigh fell a prey to the destiny that had overtaken the above-mentioned two places which the great Albuquerque had conquered.

Amid the sad decadence of the Portuguese arms, the Holy Inquisition of Goa, not to be surpassed by the atrocities of Japan, lit the flames of persecution, and presented that city in 1650 with the first spectacle of an *auto de fé*, whilst the proud nobility of Portuguese India, with D. Braz de Castro at its head, kindled the torch of rebellion, and seditiously deposed the honest and disinterested Viceroy the Conde de Obedos in 1653. The forts of Malabar, occupied and maintained by the prudence and valour of the first conquerors, began to fall gradually into the hands of the Moslems or the Hollanders. In 1652 Barcelore lowered the Portuguese flag after a long resistance; and Mangalore with Onore in 1653; Colombo surrendered in 1657, its Captain Antonio de Sousa Continho, aged seventy, having within the crumbling walls ninety-four wounded and starving companions. Quilon surrendered in 1658, Cranganore in 1662, Cananore and Cochim in 1663. Lastly, Bombay became a British possession by a treaty dated the 23rd June 1661, and was finally surrendered in 1665.

Meanwhile, the Sultán of Bejapúr invaded the provinces of Bardez and Salsete (1655), and, although repulsed, again invaded them in 1659, but was routed at Margaon by Luiz de Mendonza Furtado. Intestine troubles broke out in Goa, and in 1660 it witnessed the deplorable sight of two factions of ecclesiastics posting themselves in different portions of the city to decide with arquebuses,

who was to occupy the vacant seat of the Archbishopric, and to become necessary to quell this rebellion of the priests by military force.

In 1671 the king of Canara allowed the Portuguese to build factories, surrounded by walls, in Onore, Barcelore and Mangalore; in 1678 he again consented to the building not only of factories, but also of Catholic churches at Mirzeo, Chandore, Baticalah and Kaliánpúr; and in 1682 the island of Angediva was fortified.

The maritime commerce of the Portuguese was now annihilated by pirates, whom they had no longer any forces to resist; and as they had always been engaged in warfare, endeavouring to make new conquests, they had never had time to think of agriculture, so that their possessions were uncultivated and poor, and the inhabitants suffered from the petty ambitions of the nobles, the intrigues and squabbles of the friars, the venality of the magistrates, and the general corruption of all the Portuguese. Tax-gatherers stalked from village to village, and from house to house, to procure the means for waging war, and reduced the population to misery. In 1675 the tobacco-monopoly of Goa was established; in 1691 an ephemeral "Commercial Association of India" came into being, and the year 1687 saw in the great island of Borneo the establishment of a factory and mission directed by the clergy, named "da Divina Providencia," who were well received by the natives. Now, however, besides the English and the Hollanders, who captured Portuguese galleons, even the Arabs caused mischief with their ships, and although they had in 1690 received a severe lesson at the bar of Surat from its Captain Diogo de Mello Sampaio, they still frequently attacked Portuguese vessels.

The eighteenth century dawned under happier auspices, and the Portuguese flag re-appeared at Ormuz, and also triumphed over the crescent at Surat. The Viceroy, Caetano de Mello, razed the Bonsalah's fort at Ambona, and went in person to destroy the castle of Bicholim in 1700. He also subjugated and fortified the islands of Corjuim and Ponelem in 1706. Another Viceroy, Cesar de Menezes, having been offended by the king of Canara, sailed with a flotilla to Barcelore, the fort of which he dismantled, burning all the habitations along the river, and putting to death all who offered resistance. Kaliánpúr, on the same coast, met with a similar fate; some Musalman ships being also burnt there, and the artillery of the fort embarked in the Portuguese ships. After that he bombarded Mangalore, Comutah, Gocorna and Mirzes, spreading everywhere terror, conflagration and death (1713). The Conde da Ericeira burnt the

arsenals and ships of the enemy at Por Patâne, pursued the pirate Angriah, routed the Arabs in three combats, began to construct the fort of Chuporá, and gained other advantages (1718 to 1720).

In the year 1736, however, serious reverses obscured the glory of the victories just mentioned. On the pretext that their ambassadors had been inhospitably received, the Mahrattas invaded the "Province of the North" and took the fort of Tannah by surprise; but they lost next year many of their combatants, when they assailed the fort of Madápúr, commanded by Manuel Sanches de Oliveira, who was however obliged to destroy it, lest the foe should occupy it. Then came the long and obstinate siege of Bassein, in which its commandant Martinho da Silveira died at the very beginning of the contest, and his successor a few months afterwards. The third commandant, Caetano de Sousa, had scarcely sixty combatants and no provisions at all left, when he capitulated to the Mahrattas on the 23rd May 1739, and was allowed to march out of the fort with all the honours of war. Thus that once famous town, the abode of many Portuguese nobles, and known by the title of the "Court of the North," was lost.

The victorious Mahratta army then marched on Damaon with the intention of conquering it also, but desisted from the undertaking, and afterwards modified its plans for conquering Chaul and Diu in the same manner, but devastated the province of Salsete. At the same time the Bonsalah invaded the lands of Bardez, and Angriah attacked the Portuguese vessels by sea; the resources of the Government had reached their last extremity, and it became necessary to deliver Chaul to the Mahrattas. This period of reverses was, however, again followed by one of glory, which lasted a little more than ten years. The Conde da Ericeira, then Marquez de Lourizal, returned to India, and with him the good luck which had accompanied him already during his first incumbency. He brought European troops, with which he routed the Mahratta forces in the plains of Bardez, conquered the forts of Sanguem and Supem, and retook Ponda (1742).

Then followed the glorious period of the government of the Marquez de Castello Novo e Alorna (1744 to 1750), during which the Portuguese troops conquered, under his direction and command, the towns of Alorna and Rarim, with the forts of Tiracol, Sanquelim, Bicholim and Neutim. The next Viceroy, the Marquez de Tavora, chastised the foes of Portugal by sea as well as by land, but died on the scaffold at Lisbon, having after his return from

\* This was the Portuguese name for on which they possessed Bassein the coast of the Bombay Presidency Chaul, Damaon, Diu, &c.



## 342 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

India been accused of an attempt against the life of the king of Portugal D. José. In 1754 the Portuguese Government ordered the forts of Neutim and Rarim, the fruits of the victories of the Marquez de Alorna to be restored to the Bonsalah their former owner, who, however, four years afterwards, broke the peace and took possession also of Pernam and Sanquelim. In 1755 the Government appointed an agent of the Portuguese in Pondichery, as it had already two years before nominated one at Coromandel; is also granted religious liberty to the inhabitants of the "New Conquests" and allowed them to build pagodas which had been prohibited in the "Old Conquests," since 1540, the period at which all the existing ones had been razed.

In 1756 the Viceroy, Conde de Alva, was captured and killed by the Mahrattas. In 1759 all the Jesuits of Portuguese India, two hundred and twenty-one in number, were taken into custody by the Government. In 1761 the district, of Cabo de Rama came into the possession of the Portuguese, and is still held by them; and in 1762 a treaty of peace was concluded with the king of Sunda, who was, however, dethroned by Nāwāb Haidar Ali Khan and took refuge in Goa (1764). By order of the Court the fort of Bicholem was delivered to the Mahrattas, but shortly afterwards (1766) it was again returned, and peace concluded with them.

In 1769 the Exchequer Court, or Revenue Board, of Goa (junta da fazenda) was created; and in 1771 the Government took over the custom-house administration of that town, which had since the conquest always been rented to the highest bidder. In 1772 the first public schools were established in Portuguese India; in 1773 the post of "intendant of marine and of the arsenals" was instituted, and the tax for the support of the educational establishments founded during the preceding year was first imposed. In 1774 the supreme court named "Relazao" was abolished; in 1775 it was promulgated that all natives of Goa, not disqualified by law, were entitled to the same honours and privileges with the natives of Portugal, and admissible to all public employments; in 1776 orders arrived to deliver to secular priests all the parish churches hitherto administered by friars; in 1779 an "intendant of the agriculture of the estate" was appointed, which office still exists; in 1782 the first exposition of the body of St. Francis Xavier took place in his church at Goa, he having been declared "Protector of India" already in 1748.

During the wise government of the Captain-General D. Frederico Guilherme de Sousa (1779 to 1786) the forts in the new conquests, alienated partly by carelessness and partly by treachery, again returned to the Portuguese sway. The Indian marine was improved, the tribunal of the "Relazao" re-established, the strong

places, especially on the frontiers, were better cared for, and the whole administration of the country became more developed. The next governor, Francisco da Cunha e Menezes, took great pains to improve the finances of the colony, re-conquered the province of Pernem (1788), and is to be considered as one of the good governors of India; but in 1793 the English lowered the Portuguese banner from the fort of Calicut.

The first year of the new century was ushered in by the friendly English occupation of the forts on the bar of Goa, which lasted till the fall of Napoleon and the conclusion of the general peace in 1815. The horrible tribunal of the so-called "Holy Inquisition" was abolished at Goa in 1814, while it still continued to exist at Coimbra, at Evora and even in Lisbon. With the dawning of religious, political liberty also commenced to flourish, but was unhappily tarnished by a series of disturbances and revolts which lasted a number of years with intervals of more or less tranquillity. The enemies of liberty desired to convert it into licentiousness in order to discredit it, and, rushing forth, with seditious cries as soon as the heroic regenerating movement of Portugal had begun in 1820, they took the brave, economic and prudent Viceroy Conde de Rio Pardo prisoner, and entrusted the government to a provisional junta, which they likewise soon deposed, to substitute a new administration directed by D. Manuel de Camara, whom the court of Portugal had appointed Captain-General. This functionary assumed the government (after the reaction of 1823 had set in), which devolved after his death upon a junta composed of the chief officers of the ecclesiastical, the military, and the judicial service. The next Viceroy, D. Manuel de Portugal e Castro, restrained demagogic excesses by his prudence on the one hand, and controlled the violence of the absolutists on the other, so that during his despotic rule even those who had been deported to India for their crimes, not only enjoyed personal security, but to some extent even the rights of citizens; but when the restoration took place in 1834 the inexperienced Government of Portugal committed the mistake of appointing a native "Prefect of Portuguese India," who was a man of talent, but with sympathies and antipathies towards certain parties of the country which had given him birth, and with his arrival in Goa disturbances again broke out, as might have been expected. The population took up arms, blood was shed, and the new Viceroy, who had intended to reign as a despot, was, after a brief tenure of forty-eight hours, compelled to surrender the administration to the first councillor of the prefecture; nor could he recover his authority anywhere except in Damaon

and Diu. The spirit of revolt had, however, been awakened, and one disturbance succeeded another. To aggravate the evil, two governors in succession, namely, the Barons de Sabroso and de Cabral, died. Under the rule of the "Council of Government" turbulent partisans were more or less able to keep the embers of revolt alive, and in 1842 dared to remove from the Government the Councillor Lopes de Lima, whom the Queen had temporarily appointed to administer it. These examples of Portuguese turbulence were not lost upon the Hindus of Satari, who rose in arms, and resisted for several years all the efforts of the Governor-General Visconde de Villa Nova de Ourem (from 1851 till 1855) to reduce them to order.

Let us now abandon this spectacle of revolts, and terminate our historical sketch of Portuguese India with a brief record of its advancement in the paths of civilisation during this century.

D. Manuel di Portugal e Castro, who governed Portuguese India from 1827 till 1835, left a glorious name on the shores of Mandovi. He was the founder of new Goa, which bore the name of Panjim, whilst yet a miserable hamlet in the district of Taleigaon. Public edifices and bridges rose on all sides, the streets were embellished with handsome private houses, and the marshes disappeared; public instruction and agriculture, equally encouraged by the Viceroy, contributed to the welfare of the people, and made his name immortal. From 1820 periodical literature began to flourish, and the "official bulletin of the Government" has been published since the 7th of December 1837. Under the paternal government of the Councillor Pestana some barbarous usages were abolished (1844), the commercial company of Goa came into existence, and a monument to the great Afonso de Albuquerque was raised. Physical and moral improvements, so many times interrupted by disturbances, henceforth advanced steadily. In 1852 the Ranis of Satari, headed by Dipaji, raised the standard of revolt, which was quelled after a protracted resistance. New roads and bridges were constructed; in 1859 the electric telegraph was introduced; public works were promoted, and, on the 29th January 1860, an industrial exhibition of the various products of India was opened at Goa. In 1871 the troops of Goa revolted, because the Government refused to grant their exorbitant demands, but they were subdued and disbanded by Dom Augusto, the brother of the king of Portugal, who arrived with troops and restored order.

Having thus terminated our historical sketch and mentioned the chief events, we shall have no need to allude to them except in a general way, as connected with the rule of the various



governors of Portuguese India, a list of whom we now sub-join:—

*List of the Governors, Viceroy, and Captains-General of Portuguese India to 1860.*

I.—*D. Francisco de Almeida*, (1st Viceroy,) sailed from Lisbon on the 25th March 1505, arrived at Angediva on the 12th September at Cananore on the 24th October, and at Cochin, where he chiefly resided, on the 1st November. In each of the three places just mentioned he built a fort. In 1506 D. Lourenzo de Almeida discovered the Maldivé islands and Ceylon. D. Francisco surrendered and destroyed the town of Dabul; and also gained a signal victory over the Turkish fleet. He died by the hands of Kaffirs in the watering place of Saldanha, near the Cape of Good Hope, on his return voyage to Portugal (1st March 1509).

II.—*Afonso de Albuquerque*, 2nd Governor, took over the government of India at the end of October 1509. He took the town of Goa from the Musalmans on the 17th February 1510, but it was lost on the 17th May of the same year, and re-conquered by Albuquerque six months afterwards on the 25th November. He took Malacca and Ormuz, bombarded Aden, paid a visit to the Red Sea, built forts at Calicut and Goa, caused the Moluccas and Banda islands to be discovered, built the church of “*Nossa Senhora de Serra*” at Goa, and died in the same town on the 16th December 1515.

III.—*Lopo Soares de Albergaria*, or *Alvarenga*, sailed from Lisbon on the 17th April 1515, and arrived on the 8th September at Goa where he immediately took charge of the government, as his predecessor was absent at Ormuz. He made the king of Ceylon tributary, and erected a fort in that island. He sailed from Caranore for Portugal on the 20th January 1519.

IV.—*Diogo Lopes de Sequeira* left Lisbon on the 18th March 1518, arrived in Goa on the 8th September, and took possession of the government at Cochin on the 20th December of the same year. He erected the fort of Chaul, and embarked for Portugal on the 22nd January 1522.

V.—*D. Duarte de Menezes* sailed from Lisbon on the 5th of April 1521, arrived at Cochin the same year in September, and took possession of the government only when his predecessor had arrived from Ormuz, on the 22nd December. In his time the fort of Ternate (in the Moluccas) was built, and the pretended body of St. Thomas the apostle discovered at Meliapur. He surrendered the government on the 4th of December 1524, and returned to Portugal.

VI.—*D. Vasco du Gama*, Count of Vidigueira, and admiral

## 346 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

of the sea of India (2nd Viceroy), sailed from Lisbon on the 9th of April 1524, and arrived in Goa at the end of September. He died at Cochin, during the same year in December.

VII.—*D. Henrique de Menezes* (o Roxo), appointed by the document of succession which the admiral had brought. He succoured the fort of Calicut against the forces of the Zamorin, and died on the 21st February 1526 at Cananore, at an age of less than thirty years.

VIII.—*Lopo Vaz de Sampaio*.—During his government, which he assumed in the absence of Pero Mascarenhas, who was to have succeeded D. Henrique de Menezes, the Portuguese obtained possession of Tidore in the Molucca islands, and of Mangalore and Bombay in India. He gained battles by sea and by land, but was carried in irons, on the 18th November 1529, to Portugal, where he was cast into prison for his achievements in India, or rather for having impeded the accession of Pero Mascarenhas to the government.

IX.—*Nuno da Cunha* sailed from Lisbon, on the 18th April 1529, and arrived at Goa on the 22nd October of the same year. He conquered the towns of Bassein and Diu, gained some notable victories, and, returning to Portugal after a sway of nearly ten years, died at sea in January 1539, aged fifty-two.

X.—*D. Garcia de Noronha*, (3rd Viceroy,) sailed from Lisbon in March 1538, arrived at Goa on the 14th September of the same year, and died on the 3rd April 1540.

XI.—*D. Estevão da Gama* assumed the government because the nominee Martin Affonso de Sousa had departed for Portugal. During his rule the college de Santa Fé was founded at Goa. He proceeded to the Red Sea and visited Mount Sinai, where he armed numerous cavaliers for military service in India. He surrendered the government to his successor on the 7th May 1542 and retired to Panjim, whence he departed the next season for Portugal.

XII.—*Martin Affonso de Sousa*, having been appointed in January 1541, left Lisbon, on the 7th April of the same year, wintered in Mozambique, and arrived in Goa only on the 7th May 1542, bringing St. Francis Xavier to India. During his rule the Moluccas islands, with the peninsulas of Salsete and Bardez, became subject to Portugal. His administration lasted till the 10th September 1545.

XIII.—*D. João de Castro*, (4th Viceroy,) having been appointed Governor and Captain-General of India in January 1545, was promoted to the dignity of Viceroy in October 1547, but received the news only a few days before his death. He set out from Lisbon, on the 17th of March 1545, and arrived in Goa on the 10th

September of the same year. He succoured Diu, which was heroically defended by D. João Mascarenhas, and died at Goa, after three and a half years of a most glorious reign, on the 6th of June 1548, in the arms of St. Francis Xavier.

XIV.—*Garcia de Sá*. As the first and the second governor appointed, namely, D. João Mascarenhas and D. Jorge Tello, had left for Portugal, Garcia de Sá who had been designated as the third, took charge of the government. He died on the 3rd June 1549, and during his government, which did not last a year, the king of Tanore came to Goa and embraced Christianity.

XV.—*Jorge Cabral*.—He had been nominated the fourth in the order of succession, but, being the captain of Bassein, a provisional council, consisting of the bishop, the captain of the town of Goa, and the chief judge, administered, till his arrival, the government of which he took charge at Panjim on the 15th August 1549. He built the chapel of St. Catherine on the spot where the great Albuquerque had entered Goa. He governed till November 1550.

XVI.—*D. Afonso de Noronha*, (5th Viceroy).—He sailed on the 1st March 1550 from Lisbon, arrived at Cochin the same year, in November, and assumed the government at Goa on the 20th January 1551. During his rule a great victory was gained over the Javanese, who had besieged Malacca, and the immortal poet, Camoens, arrived in India as a private soldier. He governed the country four years, made over his post to his successor on the 23rd September 1554, and sailed for Portugal from Cochin on the 15th January 1555.

XVII.—*D. Pedro Mascarenhas*, (6th Viceroy).—He set out from Lisbon at the end of March 1554, and arrived in Goa on the 23rd September of the same year. He died on the 16th June 1555. He was at the head of the Government only nine months, but even that short period sufficed to brand him as a narrow-minded fanatic, and was remarkable only for the dissensions which broke out between Francisco Barreto and some other gentlemen of India.

XVIII.—*Francisco Barreto*.—He assumed the government on the very day his predecessor expired; ruled till the 8th September 1558, made some conquests and embarked for Portugal on the 20th January 1559. A notable satire in the poetical works of Camoens, named "*Disparates na India*," gives a faithful picture of the state of morality during the time of Francisco Barreto, who was a fanatic.

XIX.—*D. Constantino de Braganza*, (7th Viceroy).—He sailed from Lisbon, on the 7th April 1558, and arrived at Goa in September. He was one of the most beloved Viceroys of India

## 348 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

governed till the 7th September 1561, and embarked for Portugal in January 1562, after a government of three years.

XX.—*D. Francisco Continho*, Count of Redondo (8th Viceroy).—He left Lisbon, on the 15th March 1561, arrived at Goa on the 7th September, took possession of the government at once, and died on the 19th February 1564.

XXI.—*João de Mendonça*.—The Governor first appointed, *D. Antão de Noronha*, having sailed for Portugal, *João de Mendonça* assumed the reins of government, but surrendered them as soon as his successor arrived on the 3rd September 1564 and returned to Portugal.

XXII.—*D. Antão de Noronha*, (9th Viceroy).—He set out from Lisbon, on the 18th March, and reached Goa on the 3rd September 1564. He succoured Malacca, constructed the fort of Mangalore, and built the wall along the eastern side of the island of Goa. He was liked by the people nearly as much as *D. Constantino de Braganza* had been.\* He governed till the 10th September 1568,\* and then left for Portugal.

XXIII.—*D. Luiz de Athaide*, (10th Viceroy).—According to the usual custom of despatching ships to India in March, he sailed from Lisbon, on the 10th of that month in 1568, and arrived in September, assuming the government on the 10th of that month. He valorously defended the island of Goa against the forces of *A'ly Adil Sháh*, the Sultán of Bejapur, which besieged it for a considerable time. During his incumbency a terrible epidemic broke out in Goa. He governed till the 6th September 1571, and returned to Portugal in 1572, but was a few years afterwards again appointed Viceroy.

XXIV.—*D. Antonio de Noronha*, (11th Viceroy).—He started from Lisbon during the usual season in 1571, and arrived at Goa on the 6th of September; he was, however, accused of incapacity and recalled to Portugal in 1573, without being allowed the ordinary term of three years allotted to a Viceroy.

XXV.—*Antonio Moniz Barreto*.—He took possession of the government on the 9th May 1573, and retained it till September 1576, when he surrendered the administration to his successor, and returned to Portugal.

XXVI.—*D. Diogo de Menezes*.—He took charge of the government, because *Ruy Lourenzo de Tavora*, who had been appointed Viceroy, died during his voyage in Mozambique. He delivered

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\* The above date is from the *Estado da India*, page 114, the 2nd "Quadros historicos," published at February 1569, is given as the date of Goa, and agrees also with *Fonseca*, departure. page 90, but in the "Esaaios, &c.,

charge of the administration to the new Viceroy on the 31st August in 1578, and returned to Portugal.

XXVII.—*D. Luiz de Athaide*, Conde de Athouguia, and afterwards Marquez de Santarem, (12th Viceroy,) being appointed for the second time, set sail from Lisbon in November 1577, arrived at Goa on the 31st August in 1578, and died on the 10th March 1581.

XXVIII.—*Fernão Telles de Menezes*.—He was governor only six months, and then made over charge to his successor on the 17th September 1581.

XXIX.—*D. Francisco Mascarenhas*, Conde da Villa da Horta, (13th Viceroy).—Portugal being now subject to Spain for sixty years, this Viceroy was the first appointed by Philip VI. He sailed from Lisbon, on the 11th April 1581, and arrived in Goa on the 16th September of the same year. He departed for Europe on the 22nd November 1584, after having received the news that his successor had already reached Cochin, and left the archbishop in charge of the government.

XXX.—*D. Duarte de Menezes*, Conde de Tarouca, (14th Viceroy,) left Lisbon, on the 10th April 1584, arrived at Cochin on the 25th of October, and died at Goa on the 4th May 1588.

XXXI.—*Manuel de Sousa Continho* took charge temporarily of the government till the arrival of Mathias de Albuquerque, who had embarked from Portugal.

XXXII.—*Mathias de Albuquerque*, (15th Viceroy,) sailed from Lisbon, on the 8th May 1590, and arrived in Goa the next year during the same month. During the incumbency of this Viceroy, which lasted till the 25th May 1597, the English made their first appearance in India.

XXXIII.—*D. Francisco da Gama*, Conde da Vidigueira, grandson of Vasco da Gama, (16th Viceroy).—He left the Tagus on the 10th April 1596, but did not reach Goa till the 22nd May of 1597, on the 25th of which month he assumed the reins of government. In 1598 the fort of Gaspar Dias was built, and the viceroy returned to Portugal in the beginning of 1601, his administration having lasted till the 25th December 1600.

XXXIV.—*Ayres de Saldanha*, (17th Viceroy).—He commenced to govern on the 25th December 1600, and returned to Portugal in 1605, having conducted the administration till the middle of January of that year. He was one of the most indolent viceroys, and allowed the country to be governed by a council of the Jesuits, and the Hollanders to blockade the port of Goa for a whole month.

XXXV.—*Marfin Affonso de Castro*, (18th Viceroy).—He arrived in Goa during the middle of January in 1605, but, leaving



during the season of 1606 for Malacca, was there overtaken by death on the 3rd June 1607.

XXXVI.—*D. fr. Aleixo de Menezes*, Archbishop of Goa. He governed during the absence of the Viceroy, Castro, and after his death; but the recently appointed Viceroy, D. João Pereira Forjar, Conde da Feira, having died on the voyage, he continued in his post. His rule lasted from 1606 till the 27th May 1609, and during it the Hollanders besieged Malacca.

XXXVII.—*André Furtado de Mendonza*.—He arrived from Portugal and took charge of the government on the 27th May 1609. His reign was short but energetic; he conquered the province of Jaffnapatam, defended Malacca against the powerful forces of the Hollanders and the Javanese, and then returned to Portugal.

XXXVIII.—*Ruy Lourenzo de Tavora*, (19th Viceroy).—He took charge of the government on the 5th September 1609, as soon as his predecessor departed, and retained it till the 12th December 1612.

XXXIX.—*D. Jeronymo de Azevedo*, (20th Viceroy).—He was already in India, took charge of the government on the 15th December 1612, and returned to Portugal in November 1617.

XL.—*D. João Continho*, Conde de Redondo, (21st Viceroy).—He was the son of another Viceroy, who bore the same title, and assumed the government which his predecessor made over to him on the 18th November 1617, but died in Goa on the 19th November 1619.

XLI.—*Fernao de Albuquerque* governed from the 11th November 1619 till the 19th December 1622, because D. Affonso de Noronha, the Viceroy of India appointed in 1621, had not embarked.

XLII.—*D. Francisco da Gama*, Count admiral, (22nd Viceroy), having been appointed for the second time on the 22nd January 1622, arrived at Goa, and assumed the reins of government on the 19th December of the same year. He returned to Portugal after a rule of five years, at the end of January 1627.

XLIII.—*D. fr. Luiz de Brito*, a monk of the order of St. Augustine, and bishop of Meliapur. He became governor by way of succession, and ruled from the 27th January 1627 till the 29th July 1628, when he died. Then Nuno Alvares Botelho, councillor of the estate, D. Lourenzo da Cunha, captain of the town, and the chancellor, Gonzalo Pinto da Fonseca, took charge of the government together from the 1st August, but, when the first named went subsequently to succour Malacca, the other two continued till the arrival of the next Viceroy to administer the state.

XLIV.—*D. Miguel de Noronha*, Conde de Linhares, (23rd

Viceroy,) having been appointed on the 7th February of 1629, arrived at Goa on the 21st October of the same year, and took charge of the government the next day. He caused the Portuguese arms to be respected during his administration, and was not less solicitous about the creation of public works, among which he built the hospital called "da Piedade," the powder manufactory, the church of the S. Lourenzo in the fort of Aguada, some fortifications at Bardez and in the island of Goa, and the large bridge at Panigim; he also aided the island of Ceylon, which was in great distress, and returned to Portugal, after having governed till the 8th December 1635.

XLV.—*Pero da Silva*, (24th Viceroy).—He arrived in India on the 8th December of 1635, and took charge of the government, which he administered till the 24th June 1639, when he died in Goa of an epidemic then prevalent in the town.

XLVI.—*Antonio Telles de Menezes*.—He was the commandant of Damaon, and entitled to assume charge of the government, which was, till his arrival, administered by the Archbishop primate, D. fr. Francisco dos Martyres. His rule lasted only from the 4th October 1639 till the 21st September 1640, during which time he constantly struggled against the attacks of the Hollanders. At this period of time the Spaniards were, by a patriotic revolution, expelled from Portugal, which saluted D. João IV king.

XLVII.—*João da Silva Tello de Menezes*, Conde de Aveiras, (25th Viceroy,) being appointed on the 25th February 1640, sailed from Lisbon, on the 26th March, arrived at Goa on the 20th September of the same year, and, having governed till 1646, returned to Portugal in 1647. During his incumbency the Spanish dominion over Portugal came to an end.

XLVIII.—*D. Filippe Mascarenhas*, (26th Viceroy).—He was appointed on the 10th of April 1644, and arrived in Ceylon, on the 10th December whence he began to govern Portuguese India. After the expiration of one year he solemnly assumed his duties in the city of Goa, on the 30th December 1645, and, having received information that João da Silva Tello de Menezes, who was for the second time appointed Viceroy, had died on the voyage, surrendered the government on the 31st May 1651 to the persons entitled to take charge of it by way of succession, and, returning to Europe, died at Loanda the next year (1652).

XLIX.—*D. Vasco Mascarenhas*, Conde de Obidos, (27th Viceroy,) having been appointed on the 19th January 1652, sailed from Lisbon, on the 25th March, and arrived at Goa on the 3rd September of the same year. He brought succour to Ceylon and to the forts of Canara, which were besieged by the Hollanders. In spite of his excellent qualities, he was deposed on the 22nd October 1653,

and sent a prisoner to Portugal, in consequence of a sedition headed by D. Braz de Castro, who usurped the supreme authority, which he detained till he was taken prisoner in 1655 with some of his followers.

L.—*D. Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira*, Conde de Sarzedas, (28th Viceroy,) sailed from Lisbon, on the 23rd March of 1655 and reached Mormugao, near Goa, on the 19th August of the same year. This is the shortest of all the voyages to India which we have hitherto recorded as performed by the Viceroys. D. Rodrigo was first obliged to take the necessary measures for the restoration of order after the sedition, and governed with prudence, but died at Goa on the 3rd January 1656, probably by poison. Then the three estates (ecclesiastical, military and judicial) elected Manuel Mascarenhas Homem, who began to govern on the 14th January, but was afterwards joined by Francisco de Mello de Castro and by Antonio de Sousa Contiho, who arrived from Ceylon. The Viceroy designate, Conde de Villa Ponca de Aguiar, having died on his voyage from Portugal, the document of the order of succession found with him was opened on the 7th of September 1657, and the three officials just named, who were already at the head of the government, were also found mentioned therein. On the 25th of the above month, however, Manuel Mascarenhas Homem died, and his two colleagues continued to govern till the 14th June of 1661, when a new document of succession arrived, wherein D. Manuel Mascarenhas, Luiz de Mendonza Furtado and D. Pedro de Lancastre were named. The first, however, being governor of Mozambique, could not accept, and the other two carried on the administration till the 14th December of 1662.

LI.—*Antonio de Mello e Castro*, (29th Viceroy,) having been nominated governor on the 11th March 1662, was only one year afterwards authorised to make use of the title of Viceroy. He arrived at Bombay on the 29th September of the same year, and surrendered the island of that name to the English in execution of the matrimonial treaty of 1661. In his time the Hollanders obtained possession of Cochin and of other ports on the Malabar Coast. He governed till 1666.

LII.—*João Nunes da Cunha*, Conde de S. Vicente, (30th Viceroy,) having been appointed on the 11th March 1666, arrived in Goa on the 11th October of the same year, took possession of the government on the 17th, and died on the 6th November 1668. The document of the order of succession having been opened, Antonio de Mello e Castro, Luiz de Miranda Henriques, captain of Diu, and Manuel Corte Real de Sampaio, councillor of the estate, were found designated to take charge of the administration.

LIII.—*Luiz de Mendonza Furtado de Albuquerque*, Conde de

Lavrado, (31st Viceroy).—He was appointed on the 9th March 1670, but arrived in Goa only the next year on the 20th May. His government lasted till the 30th October 1677. During his return to Europe he suffered shipwreck, but escaped to Mozambique, to die presently during his voyage to Lisbon.

LIV.—*D. Pedro de Almeida*, Conde de Assumar, (32nd Viceroy).—He was nominated on the 8th April 1677, arrived in Goa on the 28th October of the same year, but embarked by order of the Court of Portugal for Mozambique, where he died on the 22nd March 1679. In the absence of a Viceroy, D. fr. Antonio Brardão, the Archbishop primate, presided over the government with Antonio Pais de Sande, who continued to govern alone, with the assent of the junta of the three estates, after the demise of the Archbishop in the month of July of the same year.

LV.—*Francisco de Tavora*, Conde de Alvor, (33rd Viceroy).—He had received his letters patent on the 4th February 1681, and arrived at Goa on the 11th September. He waged a successful war against the Mahrattas, and fortified the island of Angediva. He departed for Portugal on the 15th December 1686.

LVI.—*D. Rodrigo da Costa*.—He governed by way of succession from 1686 to 1690, when he died. He was captain-general of the fleet of galleons in the Indian sea.

LVII.—*D. Miguel de Almeida*.—He assumed the administration after the death of D. Rodrigo in 1690, and governed alone, as his other two colleagues, appointed by way of succession, had died; but he followed them on the 9th January 1691, whereon D. Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lancastre and Luiz Gonzalves Cotta assumed the government by way of succession, and, the latter having died in June of the same year, his post was filled by D. Francisco Augustinho da Annunciação according to a declaratory letter from Lisbon.

LVIII.—*D. Pedro Antonio de Noronha*, Conde de Villa Verde, (34th Viceroy,) having been appointed on the 4th February 1692, sailed on the 25th March from Lisbon, wintered at Mozambique, and arrived in Goa on the 26th of May in the next year. He visited the northern forts and defeated the Arabs more than once. He left for Portugal after handing over the government to his successor on the 20th September 1699.

LIX.—*Antonio Luiz Gonzalves da Comara Continho*, (35th Viceroy).—He sailed on the 11th December 1697, and arrived at Goa on the 14th September 1698. He governed till the 17th September 1701, when he opened the document of the way of succession, and surrendered the administration to those designated therein, namely, to D. fr. Agostinho da Annunciação, Archbishop of Goa, and to D. Vasco Luiz Continho, Colonel of foot. This

## 354 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

Viceroy died at *Bahia de todos os Santos* (Bay of all Saints) during his return voyage to Portugal.

LX.—*Custino de Mello de Castro*, (36th Viceroy,) elected on the 13th February 1703, took possession of the government on the 2nd of October. After an energetic administration, during which he gained several victories, he surrendered his office to his successor on the 29th October 1707, and returned to Portugal.

LXI.—*D. Rodrigo da Costa*, (37th Viceroy,) appointed on the 25th February 1707, arrived at Goa on the 25th October, and returned to Portugal after serving his term till the 21st September 1712.

LXII.—*Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes*, (38th Viceroy).—He sailed from Lisbon on the 14th of April 1712, and, arriving in Goa on the 16th September, took possession of the government on the 21st of the same month. He built a new fort at Bardez, and fought against the Arabs at Mascat as well as at Surat. On the 13th January 1717 he opened the document of succession and handed over the government to the Archbishop designated therein.

LXIII.—*D. Sebastião de Andrade Pessanha*, Archbishop primate.—He took possession of the government on the 13th January 1717, according to the document just alluded to, and retained it till the 16th October.

LXIV.—*D. Luiz de Menezes*, having been appointed on the 10th of April 1717, started from Lisbon on the 17th of the same month, arrived at Goa on the 9th October, and received the government from the Archbishop seven days later. His administration was memorable in peace as well as in war, and he returned to Portugal covered with glory and blessings. He governed till the 14th September 1720.

LXV.—*Francisco Jose de Sampaio e Castro*, (40th Viceroy).—He was nominated on the 31st March 1720, sailed on the 13th April from Lisbon, arrived at Goa on the 12th September, and took possession of the government on the 14th. He died on the 13th July 1723.

LXVI.—*D. Christovão de Mello*.—He governed by way of succession from the 13th July till the 3rd of September of the same year, when a new document of succession arrived from the Court, wherein he himself was designated in conjunction with D. Ignacio de Santa Theresa, the Archbishop primate, and Christovão Luiz de Andrade, chancellor of the estate.

LXVII.—*João de Saldanha da Gama*, (41st Viceroy,) nominated on the 20th January 1725, arrived in Goa on the 24th of October, and took possession of the government on the 28th. In his time the northern provinces were invaded by the

Mahrattas. Having obtained permission to return to Portugal, he opened the document of succession and entrusted the persons therein named with the government on the 23rd January 1732; their names are:—D. Ignacio de Santa Theresa, Archbishop, D. Christovão de Mello, and Jeronymo Correia Freire; but, the last mentioned having died, a new document was opened according to which the secretary of the estate Thomé Gomes Moreira was substituted. During his time peace was concluded with the Mahrattas.

LXVIII.—*D. Pedro Mascarenhas*, Conde de Sendomil, (42nd Viceroy,) being appointed on the 23rd March 1732, sailed from Lisbon on the 26th April, and arrived in Goa on the 5th October of the same year. Two days afterwards he began his unhappy government of nine years, during which the Portuguese lost Bassein, and the whole so-called province of the north, except Damaon and Diu, by the capitulation of the 15th May 1739. The Mahrattas invaded the peninsulas of Salsete and Bardez, so that it became necessary to surrender to them Chaul in order to save Goa. In 1740 the pirate Angriah destroyed the Portuguese fleet, and this ill-starred Viceroy returned to Portugal in 1741, after making over charge of the government to his successor. His government lasted from the 7th October 1732 to 18th May 1741.

LXIX.—*D. Luiz de Menezes*, Conde de Ericeira and 1st Marquez de Lourizal, (43rd Viceroy).—He was for the second time appointed to govern Portuguese India on the 21st April 1740, and sailed on the 7th May from Lisbon, reaching Goa on the 13th May of the next year. He repaired in a short time much of the damage committed during the administration of his predecessor. Having brought out European troops, he forthwith attacked the Mahrattas, routed them in the plains of Bardez, and recovered in a short time five forts; he also laid siege to the fort of Ponda, reconquered the province of Salsete, and performed other exploits. He died at Panelim on the 12th June 1742. The document of succession having been opened, the following names were found:—D. Francisco de Vasconcellos, bishop of Cochin, who was in his diocese, and arrived in Goa only on the 20th December, but died on the 30th March 1743; D. Lourenzo de Noronha, councillor of the estate, who was governing Mozambique, and arrived at Goa only on the 18th May of 1743, and D. Luiz Gaetano de Almeida, who was the only one able to take charge of the administration after the demise of the Viceroy, but afterwards governed in conjunction with the bishop, and then also with D. Lourenzo.

LXX.—*D. Pedro Miguel de Almeida e Portugal*, Conde de Assuma, 1st Marquez de Castello Novo, and afterwards de Alorna,

## 356 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

(44th Viceroy).—He sailed from Lisbon on the 29th March of 1744, and arrived on the 22nd September at Goa, where he assumed charge of the government. He fought successfully against the Mahrattas from whom he took the forts of Bicholim and Sanquelim with the adjacent country. On the 5th of May 1746 he took Alorna in person, for which feat his title of Marquis of Castello Novo was changed to that of Alorna; he took also the forts of Jiracol and Neutim with the town of Rarim. He returned to Portugal on the 27th September 1750.

LXXI.—*Francisco de Assis*, Marquez de Tavora, (45th Viceroy).—He departed from Lisbon in 1750 on the 28th March, and, arriving at Goa, took charge of the government on the 27th September. He was successful by land against the Mahrattas and other enemies of the State. In his time the province of Mozambique was severed from the government of India (1752). He returned to Europe on the 18th September 1750 after a rule of four years.

LXXII.—*D. Luiz Mascarenhas*, Conde de Alva, (46th Viceroy).—He sailed from Lisbon on the 1st April 1754, arrived at Goa on the 15th September, and took charge of the government on the 18th of the same month. He continued the war against the Mahrattas, and, in attempting to retake Ponda, which had fallen into the power of the enemy, was made prisoner and died on the 28th June 1756. He lost also the towns of Rarim and Neutim. The document of the order of succession having been opened, D. Antonio Taveira de Neiva Bram da Silveira, Archbishop; João de Mesquita Matos Teixeira, chancellor of the estate, and José Correia de Sá, were found designated to take charge of the government, but as the latter had already returned to Portugal, the seal of the second document was broken, which contained the name of D. Antonio José da Costa, who had already died, but in the third Filippe de Valladares Souto Maior was designated, who accordingly continued to govern with the two first named, till the arrival of the new Viceroy.

LXXIII.—*Manuel de Saldanha de Albuquerque*, Conde da Ega, (47th Viceroy,) appointed on the 10th March 1756, arrived at Goa on the 20th September, and continued the war with the Mahrattas, bringing it to a successful conclusion by causing the fort of Ponda to be destroyed, and occupying a portion of the province of Konkan; but was by an order of the court of Portugal commanded to restore the fort of Bicholim and of Alorna to those from whom they had been taken. He transferred his residence to the palace of Panjim, where also his successors dwell in our days. During his sway the Jesuits located in India, were taken prisoners and sent to Portugal. When the news of the death of his successor, D. João de Laucastre, which had taken

place at Mozambique arrived, he opened the document of succession on the 19th October 1765, and delivered charge of the government to those named therein, namely, to the Archbishop D. Antonio Taveira da Neiva (for the second time); the chancellor of the estate, João Baptista Vaz Pereira, and the comptroller of revenue, D. João José de Mello. This Viceroy sailed for Portugal on the 25th December 1765.

LXXIV.—*D. João José de Mello*.—He is the last of the three, above mentioned and, being appointed governor on the 12th April 1767, received charge of the administration from the hands of his colleagues on the 12th March 1768. In his time various measures of economy were carried out, one of which was the reduction of the salaries of governors and viceroys to 20,000 xerafous per annum, and by a certain law of the 10th April 1769, a revenue-board was established in Goa. He died on the 10th January 1774.

LXXV.—*Filippe de Valladares Souto Maior*.—He governed from the 13th of January till the 24th September 1774, by way of succession, for the second time, till the arrival of the new Viceroy.

LXXVI.—*D. José Pedro da Camara*, governor and *captain-general*, being appointed on the 4th February 1774, arrived at Goa on the 22nd September, but nothing of any moment appears to have taken place during his rule. He governed till the 26th May 1779, when he returned to Portugal, and those who succeeded him mostly bore the title of *captain-general* instead of *viceroy*.

LXXVII.—*D. Frederico Guilherme de Sousa*, being appointed on the 18th March 1778, arrived in Goa on the 22nd May 1779. He again recovered the provinces of Bicholim and Sauquelim, as well as the forts of Alorna and of Arabo, besides which he built others also, and considerably augmented the war-marine of Portuguese India. In his time the Relacao, or Supreme Court of judicature, abolished by the law of the 15th January 1774, was re-established. After a provident administration of seven years, he made over the government to his successor and returned to Lisbon. He was in charge of the government from the 26th May 1779 till the 3rd November 1786.

LXXVIII.—*Francisco da Cunha e Menezes*, appointed on the 19th December 1785, arrived at Goa on the 28th October 1786, and recovered the province of Pernem in 1788 for the estate. He was very careful of the public finances. Having requested to be relieved, he was permitted to return to Europe after managing the affairs of the State till the 22nd May 1794.

LXXIX.—*Francisco Antonio da Veiga Cabral*.—He was serving at Goa as Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of



## 358 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

the forces, when he was appointed to govern India by a royal letter, dated the 24th August 1793, and began his administration on the 22nd May 1794, but received his letters patent as governor and captain-general only on the 15th November 1806, and continued in office till the 30th May 1807. During his time in 1801 the forts on the bar of Goa were occupied by an English auxiliary force, which evacuated them only after the general peace of 1815. After thirteen years of an assiduous administration, he made over charge to his successor and retired to Brazil, where he obtained the title of Viscount of Mirandella.

LXXX.—*Bernardo José de Lorena*, Conde de Sarzedas, (48th Viceroy,) being appointed Viceroy and Captain-General on the 17th October 1806, departed from Lisbon, the 15th November, and, arriving in Goa on the 27th May of the next year, assumed the government. During his incumbency in 1814, the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition was abolished at Goa, and its palace demolished. This Viceroy returned from India by way of Rio de Janeiro. He governed till the 29th October 1816.

LXXXI.—*D. Diogo de Sousa*, Conde de Rio Pardo, (49th Viceroy,) appointed on the 4th January 1816, arrived at Goa on the 25th November. Although a good soldier and a prudent administrator, he was removed from the government and taken prisoner on the 16th September 1821, as soon as news of the revolution which had taken place in 1820 in Portugal reached Goa. A junta or provisional board, consisting of the following members, was organised to supersede him in the government, namely,—the Field Marshals Manuel Godinho da Mira and Joaquim Manuel Correia da Silva e Gama, with the chief judges Manuel José Gomes Loureiro, Gonzalo de Magalhães Teixeira and Manuel Duarte Leitão; but they were in their turn removed from the government in consequence of another revolution.

At this time a new governor had already arrived, on the 25th November of 1821 in Goa, but was compelled to accept four colleagues in the administration on the 3rd December of the same year, after having resided in a private house from the time of his arrival till the day of the revolt. The provisional government was composed as follow :—President, D. Manuel da Camara (the appointed captain-general); members, the Archbishop of Cranganore, D. fr. Paulo de S. Thomás de Aquino; the Brigadier, Antonio de Mello Souto Maior Telles; the chief judge, João Carlos Leal; the chief physician, Antonio José de Lima Leitão; but the last named having been elected Deputy to the constituent Cortes, his place in the council was taken by the military sea-captain, Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha. The Conde de Rio Pardo (LXXXI), having gone to Bombay on the 2nd October of the same year, returned to Goa

on the 7th February 1822, and sailed for Rio de Janeiro in a man-of-war on the 4th March.

LXXXII.—*D. Manuel da Camara*, (50th Viceroy,) having been sent as governor and captain-general on the 19th July 1820, arrived in Goa on the 25th November 1821—as we have already mentioned above—and was president of the provisional junta from the 3rd December of the same year till the 18th November 1823, when he assumed the government alone, on learning that the constitution of Portugal had been abolished. By a royal letter, dated the 22nd August of 1824, he was appointed Viceroy and Captain-General. Accordingly he assumed full powers as such on the 10th March 1825, but died on the 16th November of the same year, after having completed some works of public utility. After his demise the government was taken up by D. fr. Manuel de S.º Galdino, Archbishop, Candido José Mourão Garcez Palha, chief of the fleet; and Antonio Ribeiro de Carvalho, auditor-general (ouvidor-general).

LXXXIII.—*D. Manuel de Portugal e Castro*, (51st and last Viceroy).—He took possession of the administration as governor on the 9th of October 1827, and was elevated to the dignity of Viceroy on the 7th April 1830. Panjim, the present capital of Portuguese India, is indebted to him for its embellishments and for many of its public edifices, as well as other buildings.

LXXXIV.—*Bernardo Peres da Silva*, (Prefect).—He was appointed Prefect of the Estado of India on the 7th May 1834, arrived in Goa on the 10th January 1835, and assumed the civil administration of the province, on the 14th of the same month, but retained it scarcely seventeen days. On the 1st February a revolt broke out in Goa against the prefect, who was made prisoner and sent to Bombay; afterwards, however, he returned to Portuguese territory, in which he governed Daman and Diu. In order to calm the minds of the people, irritated by sedition, the ex-Viceroy, D. Manuel de Portugal, assumed the government for two days, and, convoking an assembly in the palace, caused Joaquim Manuel Correia da Silva e Gama, the first councillor, to be placed at the head of public affairs. On the 10th of the same month of February a reaction in favour of the prefect set in, but miscarried, and gave rise to a military movement on the 3rd of March, which resulted in the deposition of Correia, and the appointment of a provisional government, composed of Colonel João Cazimiro da Rocha Vasconsellos, as president, with the chief physician, Manuel José Ribeiro, and the father of the Christians (pae dos christãos,) i. e., protector of neophytes, fr. Constantin de Santa Rita, as members. The ex-Viceroy, D. Manuel de Portugal, and the chief judge, Manuel Venancio Moreira de Carvalho, refused

to acknowledge this new government, and the first retired to Vingorla, whence he embarked for Lisbon. The military governor, Fortunato de Mello, who accompanied the prefect, had also been sent by the Court of Portugal.

Fr. Constantino having died on the 7th December 1836, a new assembly was convoked to elect three citizens in order to form, with the two remaining members of the provisional council, a governing junta of five members. This assembly elected Colonel João Cabral de Estifque, the Lieutenant-Colonel Antonio Maria de Mello, and the chief judge, Joaquim Antonio de Moraes Carneiro; but the last named ceased shortly afterwards to act with the junta, and the chief physician, Ribeiro, died on the 10th April 1837, so that it became necessary to convoke a new electoral assembly which appointed to the two vacant posts of the government the Majors José Antonio de Lemos and Antonio Mariano de Azevedo, who afterwards became secretary to the next governor, Baron Sabroso. These two new members continued, however, but a few days in their posts, though the other three continued to act until the new governor arrived.

LXXXV.—*Silvino Infante de Lacerda*, Baron de Sabroso, Governor-General according to the decree of the 7th December of 1836, which title all his successors till our times have retained. He was appointed on the 2nd May 1836, and arrived on the 19th November 1837 at Goa, where he put in full effect the laws recently made for the administration of the colonies, but had disagreeable conflicts with the presiding judge of the Supreme Court and with the commander of the frigate *D. Pedro*, in which, however, both succumbed and fled from Goa. Being attacked with a serious illness, he entrusted the administration on the 28th September 1838 to the "council of government," according to the law, and died on the 14th October; this council consisted of the highest ecclesiastic, the Archbishop elect, D. Antonio Feliwano de Santa Rita, the principal military officer, namely, the colonel commanding the troops, José Antonio Vieira da Fonseca; the president chief judge, José Cancio Freire de Lima, and the chief fiscal employé of the Board of Revenue, Domingos José Mariano Luiz. Shortly afterwards, on the 21st of November, the Archbishop died, and the other three governed until the Court of Portugal appointed one of them to administer the affairs of the estate.

LXXXVI.—*José Antonio Vieira da Fonseca*, *ad interim* Governor-General, from the 3rd March to the 14th November 1839.

LXXXVII.—*Manuel José Mendes*, Baron de Cundal.—He was appointed on the 5th August 1839, sailed for India on the 30th of the same month, and arrived in Goa via Egypt, on the 12th November of the same year, but, having died on the 18th April

of the next year, he gave only hopes of a good administration. The government which succeeded him, was composed as follows:—José Antonio Vieira da Fonseca (Nr. LXXXVI); the chief judge, José Cancio Freira de Lima; the vicar of the chapter, Antonio João de Athaide, the clerk of the board of revenue, Domingo José Mariano Luiz, and two elected councillors, namely, José da Costa Campos, captain of engineers, and Ciriaco de Sousa e Vasconcellos, colonel of the militia of Mozambique.

LXXXVIII.—*José Joaquim Lopes de Lima*, *ad interim* Governor.—He was superintendent of the marine of Goa when he received orders from Portugal to take temporary charge of the government, which he accordingly assumed on the 24th September 1840, resigning it again on the 27th April 1842, in consequence of a military revolt. He departed to Bombay, and thence to Portugal, when his successor arrived. He made various improvements in the estate of Portuguese India, and after his departure a “council of government,” composed as follows, administered it peaceably:—The chief judge, Antonio Ramalho de Sá, the brigadier, Antonio José de Mello Souto Maior Telles, the capitular vicar, Antonio João de Athaide, and two elected councillors, José de Costa Campos and Ciriaco de Sousa e Vasconcellos.

LXXXIX.—*Francisco Xavier da Silva Pereira*, Conde de Antas, being nominated on the 18th July 1842, arrived in Goa on the 16th September, and took possession of the government on the 19th of the same month. He introduced some reforms and economical measures, particularly in the military branch of the administration, and during his sway Panjim was raised to the state of a city with the title of *New Goa*. On the 25th April 1843 he caused the despatch containing the decree to be opened by which his successor was appointed, to whom he thereon surrendered the government and retired to Portugal.

XC.—*Joaquim Murao Garcez Pallu*, reformed chief of division of the marine of Goa, having been appointed governor-general by a decree of the 31st January 1843, succeeded the Conde de Antas on the 25th April of the same year.

XCI.—*José Ferreira Pestana*, having been appointed on the 20th January 1844, sailed from Lisbon on the 28th March, arrived on the 17th of May in Goa, and took possession of the government on the 20th. His beneficent and wise administration embraced all kinds of improvements, and he returned to Europe after an incumbency of nearly seven years when his successor arrived. He ruled till the 15th January 1851.

XCII.—*Jose Joaquim Januario Lopa*, first Baron and afterwards Viscount of Villa Nova de Ourem, having been appointed on the 30th October 1850, arrived at Goa on the 12th January

1851, and assumed the government on the 15th of the same month and year. He departed on the 6th May 1855 for Portugal by permission of the Court, his health being shattered. He introduced some improvements, and his administration would have been more successful, if he had not been obliged to contend for several years with the rebels of Satary. The "council of government," after his departure, was composed as follows :—The bishop elect of Cochin, D. Joaquim de Santa Rita Botelho, the brigadier of the Indian army, Luiz da Costa Campos, the clerk of the board of revenue, Francisco Xavier Peres, with the elected councillors, Bernardo Heitor da Silveira e Lorena and Victor Anastacio Mourão Garcez Palha.

XCIH.—*Antonio Cesar de Vasconcellos Correia*, Viscount of Torres Novas, having been appointed on the 24th May of 1855, sailed on the 23rd September from Lisbon, arrived at Goa on the 1st of November, and took possession of the government on the 3rd of the same month. On the 30th March 1858, his term of service as Governor-General was prolonged for three years more. His administration was chiefly remarkable for the construction of roads, some of which extend to the British frontiers, nevertheless the economy he practised, showed in 1860 such a surplus, that numerous others could be constructed in addition. He governed till the 24th December 1864.

XCIV.—*José Pereira Pestana*, appointed Governor-General for the second time, presided over the administration from the last mentioned date till the 7th May 1870.

XV.—*Januario Correia de Almeida*, Viscount of St. Januario, governed from the last named date till the 12th December 1871.

XCVI.—*Joaquim José Macedo e Couto* succeeded and governed till the 10th May 1875.

XCVII.—*João Tavares de Almeida* governed from the last named date till the 24th July 1877, when he died, and a council, presided over by the Archbishop, administered the government.

XCVIII.—*Visconde Antonio Sergio de Souza* assumed charge on the 12th November 1877, and died on the 3rd May 1878, when a council presided over by the same Archbishop again assumed the administration.

XCIX.—*Caetano Alexandre de Almeida e Albuquerque* was appointed Governor-General by a decree of the 9th May 1878, and still presides over the administration with a firm hand.

## ART. VII.—HINDI AND THE BIHAR DIALECTS.

**S**OMETHING over a year ago the Editor of the *Calcutta Review* did me the honour of publishing in these pages a paper entitled "A Plea for the People's Tongue." The object of that paper was to show that the language which is at present called Hindí is not, and never can be called, the language of Bihár, and to propose that some one or the local dialects of Bihár should be substituted for it as the official language of our cutcherries and our schools. The article attracted some attention,—much more than its intrinsic merits deserved,—and I am glad that it was noticed, for it showed that the subject is one which was ripe for discussion; and the fullest and freest discussion is what I wished to raise. The matter is one on which a great deal can be said on both sides, and though I held to one, I by no means despised the other, being convinced that the more the matter was threshed out by competent writers, the more certainly would the true state of affairs become manifest. I am, therefore, grateful that the subject was taken up by able opponents, as well as to the champions who sided with me, and what I now write may be taken as a reply to the principal arguments used on the other side of the question.

One of the objections, and an apparently cogent one, is that I advocate the introduction of a rustic and uncultivated speech, such as is talked by the lowest orders, much as if I advocated the introduction of the language of a Cumbrian miner into Northern English law-courts. I think, however, I can show that this objection is by no means well-founded. If we take an average educated Cumbrian squire, he speaks excellent English, and it is his language which is current in the law-courts of his country, and not that of his labourers. So it is the language of the average educated Biháří squire (if I may use the term) which I wish to see adopted in our law-courts. Our Cumbrian squire, it is true, will ten to one talk more or less good French to a foreigner, but he will speak English in his home,—and in the same way the Biháří squire will speak Hindí to a foreigner, while his mother-tongue is, nevertheless, Biháří.\* To make this perfectly

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\* By this name I mean the language which is current in various dialects (such as Bhojpúrí, Maithilí, Magadhí, &c.) throughout Bihár. The name is not generally used, as the very existence of such a language is denied by many, and is at present

only adopted tentatively instead of Eastern Hindí, or Hindúí, which is misleading. At present no one dialect has been adopted as the standard, and hence it has received little special literary culture.

clear, there are two expressions current throughout Eastern Hindústán, which I now proceed to explain. These are *theth bolí* and *khari bolí*. *Theth* means "genuine," or "pure," and the *theth bolí* means the *unmixed* speech of the lower orders. It is also called *gāwvārí bolí* or "rustic" speech." *Khari bolí*, that is to say, the "standard speech" is the language of the upper classes, and is also called *Nāgarí* or "urban." Thus, to apply these terms to the English language, the Cumbrian miner speaks the *theth bolí*, and the squire the *khari bolí*. These two terms are universally used throughout rural Bihár in the above senses. A low-caste Dusádh talks a *theth* form, and a gentleman of the same village a *khari* form of the same Bihári language, and it is the *khari* form used by the gentleman, and *not* the *theth* form used by the Dusádh, which I wish introduced into our law-courts. I am perfectly aware that many writers use *khari bolí* as equivalent to Hindi; and not improbably this may be true west of Benares where the local dialects belonging to the western Hindi class, (e. g., Braj Bháshá, &c.), are closely connected with that language: but *khari bolí*, in rural parlance, in Bihár, never means Hindi, for which a different name, viz., Jábání (i.e., Mussalmán,) or Fārsí (Persian,) is used.\* It always means that form of the local dialect which is used in the upper classes of society and nothing else.

I hope, therefore, that it will be clearly understood that I do not aim at making the slang of the streets (as one critic accused me of doing) the language of our courts.

And now, before I go further, I wish to clear the way by explaining the meaning of a few terms, concerning which the greatest confusion exists. They are—

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|-----------|----------------|
| 1. Hindi. | 3. Kaithí, and |
| 2. Urdú.  | 4. Nāgarí.     |

I have already treated of the first two in my former paper. Hindi and Urdú are different phases of the same language, which is called Hindústání, or the language of Hindústán, when in reality it is at most only the vernacular language of Western Hindústán. Hindi is the phase of that language when words of foreign origin are more or less rigidly excluded. Urdú is that phase which accepts foreign words without stint.† These two

\* This is the case not only with reference to Urdú, but even with reference to books like the *Prem Sāgar* in which there is hardly a single Persian word. Natives can never forget that the pure Hindi

phase is derived from the Urdú phase of the same language.

† I am, of course, only stating facts as they exist at present, and am not now stating that these two phases always existed side by side.

phases have *generally* each a peculiar character in which they are written. That is to say, Hindí is generally written in the Nágari or Kaithí character, and Urdú in the Persian character,—but this fact does not make them different languages, any more than German would cease to be German by being written in the Roman character. When, therefore, I talk of Hindí, I use the term as a convenient contraction for “the Hindí phase of the language of Western Hindústán”: and when I talk of Urdú I mean the “Urdú phase of the language of Western Hindústán.”

Hindí is frequently used to signify a *character* and not a *language*, but this is wrong, just as wrong, as it is to call the Persian character Urdú because Urdú is written in it.

Kaithí and Nágari (also called Deva Nágari) are on the contrary names of *characters* and never of *languages*: though it is not at all uncommon to hear people talk of the “Kaithí language.” They might as well talk of the “Italic language” because English is sometimes written in Italic characters.

Another objection made to my theory is, that Hindí is a beautiful language, and hence that for that reason it should be current in Bihár. It is difficult to state this seriously, but that is the gist of the argument. Now in my former paper I used some very strong language about the constituents of Hindí, and perhaps the objection is made to combat these remarks. My intention, in saying what I did then, was, and is now, to show that this extremely composite language was, for that reason, unsuited to Bihár: and not that it was for that reason not fit to be used by any one. I am too great an admirer of my own beautiful language to condemn any other simply because it is a hybrid, and contains words as bad as “starvation” or “reliable.” On the contrary, I am quite willing to maintain that a composite language *in the right place* has nothing whatever to be said against it. English is a very composite language, and is admirable in England, but if it was transferred, say to France, where the people’s language has not one single grammatical form agreeing with it, it would be everywhere an admitted absurdity. Without going into hysterics over Hindí, I am perfectly free to admit that it is a copious, free, and flexible language, and may not improbably be suitable as a standard of the Western Hindústání dialects west of Benares, with which it is closely connected both in grammar and history. I do not pretend to be intimately acquainted with these dialects, and hence I do not offer a decided opinion: but when we come east of Benares the matter is quite different. All the remarks in my former paper were made with special reference to



Bihār, and I was 'arguing against *any* language, be it ever so flexible, ever so copious, ever so musical, being imposed on a country having a language of its own, radically different in structure and general character. English is fitly the standard to which the dialect of Cumberland or Somersetshire is referred, because, after allowing for eccentricities of spelling and pronunciation, these dialects show a close family relationship with it, but the dialects of Bihār show less relationship to Hindī than they do to Marāṭhī or Bangālī.\* Of course, when I talk of Bihār, I except from consideration the large Muḥammadan towns, such as Patna or Bihār city. In these, as might be expected, Muḥammadan influence, and the necessity of having a *lingua franca* as means of communication with traders from all parts of India, has kept up and extended the use of Hindī, so that in these towns and their immediate suburbs the actual language of the country has to a large extent fallen into disuse.

Another objection to which a brief notice may be given is that Hindūs have a reverence for the language of the country round Benares and Lucknow,—that Hindī is the language of the country round Benares and Lucknow,—and that, therefore, it should be adopted as the official language of Bihār. After noting that exactly the same reasoning would make Hindī the court language of Calcutta and of Bombay, I may point out that Hindī is *not* the language of the country round Benares and Lucknow. The dialect of the country round Benares is the Bihārī dialect, Bhojpūrī, and that of the tract round Lucknow is called Baiswārī. It is in this latter dialect that the Rāmāyan of Tulsī Dās was written, and it is much more nearly allied to Bihārī than it is to Hindī. It is in fact a dialect of Eastern Hindūstān, and not of Western Hindūstān. If any thing, therefore, this objection tells rather in my favour than against it. Hindī is, of course, spoken in great purity in Benares town itself; but that is only between two pandits of different countries who have no common mother-tongue.

Another argument against my theory I cannot do better than quote in the words of its exponent, Babu Rādhikā Prasanna Mukherjī†:—"Those that remember the great gulf that separated the forms of speech current in East and West Bengal only a quarter of a century ago, and mark the process by which that gulf has now nearly been bridged, can hardly entertain a doubt that, with the extension of education and other civilizing agencies, the dialects spoken in the different parts of Bihār would, in the

\* This may seem a sweeping statement, but it is literally the fact. See Hærnle's grammar of the Gaudian languages, Introduction, where the

matter is thoroughly worked out.

† In "A Few Notes on Hindī," published by J. G. Chatterjea & Co. 41, Amherst Street. P. 22.

course of a few years, lose many of their peculiarities, and more and more approach a common standard. *There is every reason to hope that that standard will be the literary Hindî which has been recognised by the educated classes as the language of polite talk and of literature.*

"To predict the future of the language of Bihâr, we have only to recall what happened in Bengal about three centuries ago. The great Vaishnav reformer, who was born and bred at Navadvîpa, originated the religious movement, the influence of which was felt not only in his own province, but far and wide in different parts of India. The language, in which the master preached the truths of the religion of faith and love, was based on the cultivated dialect of Nuddea; and this dialect, since improved upon by various writers, is now the language of literature in Bengal. *It is not easy to see why Benares Hindî, as cultivated by scholars and writers, should not occupy the same position in Bihâr as that occupied by Nuddea Bangâlî in Bengal.*"

The italics in the above are mine. It is not easy to me to see exactly what is meant by the term "Benares Hindî." If by it he means the language of the country round Benares, is not Saul also amongst the prophets? That language is Bhojpûrî, one of the Bihârî dialects,—and it is precisely one of these Bihârî dialects, the use of which I am advocating. I presume, however, that Babu Râdhikâ Prasanna means the Hindî spoken in Benares town itself by two pandits of different nationalities and mother-tongues when speaking to each other. If he does so, and wishes to compare this Hindî with Nuddea Bangâlî, I am prepared to join issue with him at once. My opponent's argument is shortly this, —in Bengal twenty-five years ago, the dialects of East and West were widely different, and yet the gulf between them has been practically bridged over by the literary language of Bengal, which was based on the cultivated dialect of Nuddea. At the present moment the dialects of East and West Hindûstân are widely different; let the gulf between them be similarly bridged over by Hindî. It seems to me that this comparison is not fair. The dialects of Bengal, though differing (not "widely different," by the bye), were all cognate, and *one from among these dialects* was taken, and made the standard. Nothing could have been fairer, and the result was a success. On the other hand,—the dialects of East and West Hindûstân are not cognate. We can only take the Eastern group by itself, and the Western group by itself, as I shall show subsequently. To take them together would be, as if we were to take French and Italian together, and select, say, the cultivated dialect of Alsace as a standard for both. We must take the Eastern group by itself, and then do as was done in Bengal,—take one dialect from among the collection which

forms the group and make it the standard. We cannot take a language born in the wilds of Rájputáná, and mixed up with the dialects of the Doab and the Panjáb, and make it the dialect of Bihár: the process would be unfair, and the result cannot be successful. It is like making the cultivated dialect of Alsace the standard of the dialects of Italy.

Another statement of the same objector I differ from entirely;—it is that Hindí has been accepted by the educated as the language of literature. It is true, that there are newspapers printed in Hindí, but they are written entirely for the official class, who have committed themselves to the *public* use of that language. Besides this, the newspapers are, perforce, compelled to be in Hindí, as it is by Government order the standard language, and is accepted as such by the Education Department. If, therefore, newspapers were not in that language, they would be in a double difficulty: first, they would run counter to the official system of education of the country; and, secondly, they have no other resource; for until the standard of the Bihári language is fixed, which can only be done by Government action, or by the works of some great native literary genius, who has not yet arisen, they do not know in what dialect to write, if they do give up their present language. But, putting the influence of the native press out of the question, I challenge my opponents to produce a single literary work, worthy of the name, written in Hindí for Bihár, which has not been written under Government orders, or Government influence. Missionaries, on the contrary, whose business it is to make their writings popular, are writing tracts and Bible translations in Bihári.

Before proceeding to the final and most important argument brought against me, I wish to clear a misapprehension which I have found to exist amongst many of my critics. They seem to think that I have set my heart upon substituting Maithilí for Hindí, and that I have personal prejudices, which have led me to do this. I wish, therefore, here to make it perfectly plain that I wish no such thing at present. All that I have argued for, reiterating over and over again, is that Bihári should be considered a language, and that some one of its three principal dialects, Bhojpúrí, Maithilí or Mágadhí, should be made its standard. That is the principle which I am trying to establish, and all that I wish or hope to establish at present. Which dialect should be selected for its standard is a subsequent consideration, and cannot be decided until the principle is agreed to. That once settled, the subsidiary matter can come up for discussion and decision on its merits, and it is perfectly immaterial to me at present, which is the dialect to be selected.

I now come to the last and most important objection brought

against me. It is roundly denied by my opponents that the language of East Hindústán does differ radically from that of West Hindústán. They say it may be admitted that the dialects of East and West "vary from one another and from that of literature, in some points; but their organic differences are slight, and have a tendency to grow less and less." This is the language of the most polite of my opponents,—others have ridiculed my statements, and another has called me dogmatic, on the same point. If being dogmatic means being in earnest, I am free to admit that I am so, for this point is the vital one of my argument. If my opponents can prove that their side of the question is the true one, my whole argument falls to the ground; and I will wiltingly promise never to venture on the treacherous ice of philology again. But here I am placed at a disadvantage. I, in my former article, did offer some slight proof towards my thesis, while they on their side have offered no argument beyond the base logic of bare assertion. They may be correct, but I do not know their arguments. If I leave the matter unproved, they may spring an unsuspected mine upon me. I do not know what to attack, for I do not know from what battery they are prepared to fire their heavy artillery. Nevertheless, I am ready to accept the challenge, and to prove beyond a doubt that the languages of Eastern and Western Hindústán are radically and organically different in origin, pronunciation, derivation, grammatical inflexion, syntactical construction, and vocabulary. It will be going over for the most part well-trodden paths, and for the average reader will be, I fear, terribly dry reading, but I cannot meet one bare assertion with another equally bare counter-assertion. I am called upon to justify my position, and I am compelled to accept the challenge.

First, as to **origin**. Fortunately, I am not compelled to give a history of the rise of Hindí and Bihárí in all its details. That has already been given by Dr. Hoernle in his Gaudian grammar, and in a former article by him in this review. I may, therefore, take it as an established fact, which has never been disproved, that in the earliest ages there were two vernaculars current in India, running alongside of the literary Sanskrit, which occupied an altogether peculiar position, and was never, in its literary form, a vernacular. These two languages in the year B. C. 300 divided Northern Hindústán between them. One of them,

Śaurasēnī was the language of the West—the other, Māgadhi was the language of the East. There was also the neutral Ardha Māgadhi current in the border tract between them. These two languages have nearly kept their position and have there developed until the present day. That is to say, Śaurasēnī

has developed into the modern Naipálí, Hindí, Panjábí, Sindhí and Gujarátí, and Mágadhí has developed into Maráthí, Bihárí, Bangálí, Uṛiyá and Assamese. The very earliest linguistic documents we possess on the subject, show Śaurasení and Mágadhí as distinct languages, and separate grammatical treatises of each are extant. Hence it appears that at least two thousand two hundred years ago the ancestors of Hindí and Bihárí were distinct languages: and it would be a strange thing if they had since then merged into one language. I have thus, I hope, shown that my first statement is true, viz., that Hindí and Bihárí are different in origin.

Second, as to **Pronunciation**. This is a small point, hardly worth proving, but I have promised to prove it.

The Bihárí forms which I shall hereafter quote, will be, unless the contrary is especially stated, taken from the Bhojpúrí of Sháhábád and Sárán, which dialect is almost identical with that of Banáras, and, being the most western of the Bihár dialects, is hence *a priori* most likely to have the greatest number of forms agreeing with those of Hindí.

(1). Bihárí affects dental, and Hindí affects cerebral letters. Bihárí continually uses *r* or *n*, where Hindí has *l*.

Examples are—

BIHARI.	HINDI.
<i>parab</i> , to fall,	<i>parná</i> .
<i>phar</i> , fruit,	<i>phal</i> .
<i>gárá</i> , abuse,	<i>gálá</i> .
<i>nangot</i> , a waistcloth,	<i>langot</i> .

(2). While Hindí sometimes omits medial *h*, Bihárí, on the contrary, has a distinct tendency to insert *h* as a mere euphonic letter.

Example—

<i>dihal</i> , he gave,	<i>diá</i> .
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(3). While Bihárí never tolerates an initial *y* or *w* except in interjections, Hindí not only does tolerate them, but even inserts them euphonicallly.

Examples—

<i>í</i> , this,	<i>yah</i> .
<i>ú</i> , that,	<i>wah</i> .
<i>delak</i> , he gave,	<i>diá</i> or <i>diyá</i> .

(4). Bihárí has (like Bangálí) the short vowels, *ē*, *āi*, *ō*, and *āū*, which are unknown to Hindí.

Examples—

<i>bētiya</i> , a daughter,	<i>bitiyá</i> .
<i>bōlāwat</i> , calling,	<i>bulāwat</i> .

compare the Bangálí *gōm*, wheat, and *bēkti*, a person

(5). Biháří generally prefers to retain the hiatus *aĩ* and *aũ* while Hindí always contracts them to *ai* and *au*.

Examples—

BIHARÍ.

*baĩsuĩ*, he sits,

*aĩr*, and,

HINDÍ.

*baithe*.

*aur*.

Thirdly, as to **Derivation**.

(1). The singular genitive case of the personal pronouns has in Biháří a medial *o*, but in Hindí a medial *ā*.

Example—

*mor*, my,

*tor*, thy,

*merā*.

*terā*.

(2). Biháří prefers masculine nouns in their weak form, ending in a silent consonant, while Hindí prefers them in their strong form with a final *ā*.

Examples—

*ghor*, horse,

*loh*, iron,

*bar*, great,

*mor*, my,

*det*, giving,

*parhal*, read,

*ghorā*,

*lohā*.

*barā*,

*merā*.

*detā*.

*parhā*.

(3). While Hindí uses, as a rule, only the short form of the pronouns, Biháří has generally also a long form in *n*.

Example—

*Se* or *taun*, he,

only *so*.

(4). While Hindí declines its nouns entirely with the aid of postpositions, Biháří has in most of its dialects true inflections for the instrumental and locative, which are utterly unknown to High Hindí.

Examples—

From the Maithil dialect.

*ghoreñ*, by a horse,

*bateñ*, by a word,

*ghore*, in a horse,

*bāte*, in a word,

*ghore se*.

*bāt se*.

*ghore meñ*.

*bāt meñ*.

Fourthly, as regards **Grammatical inflexion**.

This must be noted at some length. For languages are classed according to morphology, that is to say, according to their grammatical forms. The striking difference between the grammatical forms of the two languages will be apparent from the

following. In selecting Examples, I have been careful to take words whose stems are common to all the Aryan languages of India, in order to show, as clearly as possible, inflexional differences only:—

### A. Declension.

(1). Biháří 'does not possess the active case in *ne* which we meet in Hindí.

Example—

BIHARÍ.

*ú kailas*, he did,

HINDÍ.

*usne kiya*.

(2). The oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* has in Biháří a final *á*, but in Hindí a final *e*.

Example—

*ghorá kē*, of a horse,

*ghore ká*.

(3). Nouns ending in a silent consonant have, in some Biháří dialects, an oblique form in *a* or *ē*; but in Hindí such forms are unknown. An example from the Mágadhí dialect is—

*ghar*, a house,

*ghar*.

*gharē sañ*, from a house,

*ghar se*.

Similar forms exist in the other dialects, but belong to the *theth* and not to the *kharí bolí*, and hence they are not given here, as I only wish to exemplify the latter.

(4). The Biháří verbal noun in *l* makes its oblique form end in *á*. Thus *máral*, the killing, *márlá me*, in the killing. This form does not occur at all in Hindí.

(5). In Hindí the genitival postpositions are *ká*, *ke* and *kí*, and their use depends upon two factors: (a) whether the governing noun is in the direct or oblique form, and (b) whether it is masculine or feminine. Thus, *uská ghorá*, *uske ghore par*, *uski ghorí*, *uski ghorí par*. In Biháří this is not the fact. There are generally two sets of genitival postpositions: (a) one which never changes, as *okar ghorá*, *okar ghorá par*, *okar ghorí*, *okar ghorí par*, and (b) a set which changes according as the governing noun is in a direct or an oblique case, but not changing for gender. As *ók'rē ghorá*, *ók'rē ghorí*, *ók'rā ghorá par*, *ók'rā ghorí par*. In some dialects there are genitival postpositions which change according to the gender of the governing noun, but then they are not affected by its being direct or oblique: thus (Mágadhí) *ók'rā ghorá*, *ók'rā ghorá par*, *ók'rí ghorí*, *ók'rí ghorí par*.

(6). Finally, the postpositions used in the declension of Biháří nouns, differ from those in use in Hindí, as is illustrated by

the following paradigm of *ghorá*, a horse, declined in the singular :—

	BIHARI.	HINDI.
Nom.	<i>ghorá</i>	<i>ghorá.</i>
Acc.	<i>ghorá kə</i>	<i>ghore ko.</i>
Instr.	<i>ghorá ten</i>	<i>ghore se.</i>
Dat.	<i>ghorá lá</i>	<i>ghore ke liye.</i>
Abl.	<i>ghorá señ</i>	<i>ghore se.</i>
Gen.	<i>ghorak</i> (unchangeable) or <i>ghorá kə</i> (direct) <i>ká</i> (oblique)	<i>ghore ká</i> (masc. dir.), <i>ke</i> (masc. obl.) <i>kí</i> (fem.) <i>ghore meñ.</i>
Loc.	<i>ghorá me</i>	
The nominative plural is	<i>ghoran</i> or <i>ghorá se.</i>	<i>ghore.</i>

(7). The declension of pronouns is altogether different in the two languages.

Examples are—

{	Nom.	<i>ham</i> , I	<i>maiñ</i> or (plur.) <i>ham.</i>
{	Obl.	<i>ham'rá</i> , me, Gen. <i>mor</i> , <i>hamér</i> , my	<i>mujh</i> (ko), or <i>ham</i> (ko). Gen. <i>merá</i> , <i>hamárá</i> ,
{	Nom.	<i>teñ</i> , thou	<i>tú.</i>
{	Obl.	<i>təh'rá</i> , thee, Gen. <i>təhár</i> , thy	<i>tujh</i> (ko,) Gen. <i>terá</i>
{	Nom.	<i>í</i> , this	<i>yah.</i>
{	Obl.	<i>ék'rá</i> or <i>ék</i> , this, Gen. <i>ekar</i> .	<i>is</i> (ko). Gen. <i>iská.</i>
{	Nom.	<i>je</i> , who	<i>jo.</i>
{	Obl.	<i>jék'rá</i> or <i>jəh</i> , whom, Gen. <i>jekar</i> .	<i>jis</i> (ko). Gen. <i>jiská</i>
{	Nom.	<i>kəú</i> , anyone	<i>koí</i>
{	Obl.	<i>kək'ro</i> anyone	<i>kisí</i> (ko).

### B. Conjugation.

(1). Hindi has one tense only which is not periphrastic, the present conjunctive. The imperative is really the same as the present conjunctive, differing only in the second person singular. The future is the same as the present conjunctive, the termination *gá* being affixed to it. The other tenses are all periphrastic, that is to say, they are formed by conjugating an auxiliary verb, with a participial form. Bihari on the contrary has five separate and distinct non-periphrastic tenses.

(2). The conjugation of the auxiliary verb is totally different



in the two languages, as the following examples conjugated only in the masculine will shew :—

		BIHARI.	HINDI.
<i>Present.</i> I am.	Singular.	1 <i>bātān</i>	<i>hūn.</i>
		2 <i>bātas</i>	<i>hai.</i>
		3 <i>bāte, or bā</i>	<i>hai.</i>
	Plural.	1 <i>bātān</i>	<i>haiñ.</i>
		2 <i>bāta</i>	<i>ho.</i>
		3 <i>bātan</i>	<i>haiñ.</i>
<i>Past.</i> I was.	Singular.	1 <i>rah'lān</i>	<i>thā.</i>
		2 <i>rah'ias</i>	<i>thā.</i>
		3 <i>rahal</i>	<i>thā.</i>
	Plural.	1 <i>rah'lān</i>	<i>the.</i>
		2 <i>rah'la</i>	<i>the.</i>
		3 <i>rah'lan</i>	<i>the.</i>

(3). Bihārī has a present indicative, which has no counterpart in Hindī. It is thus conjugated in the masculine :—

I see.	Singular.	1 <i>dekhilā</i>	
		2 <i>dekhale</i>	
		3 <i>dekhālā</i>	no such tense existing.
	Plural.	1 <i>dekhilā</i>	
		2 <i>dekhala</i>	
		3 <i>dekhale</i>	

(4). The future tense in Bihārī again differs totally from that tense in Hindī as follows :—

I shall see.	Singular.	1 <i>dekhāb</i>	<i>dekhūngā.</i>
		2 <i>dēkh'be</i>	<i>dekhegā.</i>
		3 <i>dekhā</i>	<i>dekhegā.</i>
"	Plural.	1 <i>dēkh'bi</i>	<i>dekheñge.</i>
		2 <i>dēkh'ba</i>	<i>dekhege.</i>
		3 <i>dēkhiheñ</i>	<i>dekheñge.</i>

(5). The preterite indicative differs totally in the two languages. I give an example of an intransitive verb, as showing the Hindī forms better—

I fell.	Singular.	1 <i>gir'lān</i>	<i>girā.</i>
		2 <i>gir'le</i>	<i>girā.</i>
		3 <i>giral</i>	<i>girā.</i>
	Plural.	1 <i>gir'lān</i>	<i>gire.</i>
		2 <i>gir'la</i>	<i>gire.</i>
		3 <i>gir'lan</i>	<i>gire.</i>

(6). The present conjunctive agrees pretty nearly in the two

languages. But it is a well-known fact that this tense is practically the same throughout all the Northern Indian languages from Maráthí to Bangálí.

(7). Bihárl has (like Bangálí) an elaborately conjugated preterite conjunctive. To save space I do not give it for the purposes of comparison, as Hindí has no such tense at all, using the present participle as a substitute. Thus, Bihárl, *jon ham dekh'ín* if I had seen ; but Hindí, *jo main dekh'tá*.

(8). The participles differ in the two languages, as follows:—

Present	<i>dekháit</i> ,	seeing,	<i>dekh'tá</i> .
Past	<i>dekhál</i> ,	seen,	<i>dekhá</i> .

(9). As the participles differ in the two languages, and as the auxiliary verbs also differ, it follows that, even where their mode of formation is the same, the periphrastic tenses must be totally different in form. But this is not the only cause of difference. In the two languages the periphrastic tenses also differ in their mode of formation as follows:

(10). In Hindí the perfect and pluperfect tenses are formed by adding the auxiliary verb to the past participle. The auxiliary verb is then alone conjugated. Thus, *main girá hún*, I have fallen ; *tú girá hai*, thou hast fallen ; *wah girá hai*, he has fallen. Besides forming its perfect and pluperfect in this way, Bihárl also forms them by adding an obsolete form of the third person singular of the auxiliary verb to the preterite, which last, and not the auxiliary, is then conjugated. Thus, *ham gir'ín há*, I have fallen ; *ten gir'le há*, thou hast fallen ; *ú girál há*, he has fallen.

(11). In the periphrastic tenses of transitive verbs in Bihárl the perfect participle is used in its oblique and not in its direct form. This is not the case in Hindí. Thus *ham dekh'lé bátín*, I have seen.

(12). The verbal noun, or infinitive, differs in the two languages. Hindí has one verbal noun in *ná* as *dekh'ná*, and another in *á* as *dekhá*. In Bihárl there are three forms of the verbal noun. One in *ab* as *dekháb*, one in *al* as *dekhál*, and a third only used in the oblique form in *é* as *dekhé*.

(13). In Bihárl the causal verb is formed by adding *áw* to the root of the simple verb, while in Hindí it is formed by adding *á*. Thus, Bihárl *karáwal* to cause to do ; but Hindí *karáná*.

I have now gone through every possible form of nouns, pronouns and verbs, and have shown that, with the single exception of one tense, which is common to all the modern Aryan languages of India, there is not a single grammatical form in Bihárl, which is the same as the corresponding one in Hindí. On the contrary the vast majority are so widely different,

that it is impossible to consider them as belonging to a common language.

Fifthly, as regards syntactical construction, there is one great difference, that, in the case of the past tense of transitive verbs, Bihárí possesses a regular active construction with a proper active past tense, whereas Hindí uses a passive construction with the help of the active case (in *ne*) of the subject.

Sixthly, as regards vocabulary, it must first be noted that all the modern Aryan languages of India have very similar vocabularies. The languages differ most in their terminations and inflexions, and have a common stock of meaning stems on which to graft each its peculiar grammatical forms. Nevertheless, some of the commonest and most important vocables are altogether different in Bihárí and Hindí. The following are examples :—

	BIHARI.	HINDI.
good,	<i>níman, ník,</i>	<i>achchhá,</i>
bad,	<i>adh'láh,</i>	<i>burá.</i>
he is,	<i>bá,</i>	" <i>hai.</i>
he was,	<i>rahal,</i>	<i>thá.</i>
he became,	<i>bhel,</i>	<i>huá.</i>
throw,	<i>bhígah,</i>	<i>phenko.</i>
bring,	<i>ánah,</i>	<i>láo.</i>
not (prohibitive),	<i>jin, janí,</i>	<i>mat.</i>
for,	<i>bade, lel,</i>	<i>liye.</i>
but,	<i>báki</i>	<i>lekín, parantu.</i>

I have, now, I hope, proved to the satisfaction of the most sceptical, as I promised, that Bihárí and Hindí are radically and organically different in origin, pronunciation, derivation grammatical inflexion, syntactical construction, and vocabulary. Much of what I have written has been written before, and by more capable pens\* than mine, but I do not think that all the proofs have ever been thrown together till now, and though I do not by any means profess to have exhausted every means of comparison, I think I have written fully enough to throw upon my adversaries the burden of proof that "organic differences of Bihárí and Hindí are slight, and have a tendency to grow less and less."

No one who has mixed intimately with people of all classes in Bihár, can fail to see how all cordial intercourse between governors and governed is impeded by this language of politeness,

\* I cannot sufficiently express my obligations to Dr. Hoernle's *Gaudian*

*Grammar*. I have in many places used his very words.

Hindí, which, admirable though it be, cannot but act as a barrier to that thoroughly free communication which it is the object of every well-wisher of India to encourage. Few Englishmen can express themselves freely and accurately in conversation with a German through the medium of French, nor, by parity of reasoning, can they do so with a Bihárí through the medium of Hindí.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

BANKIPORE :  
27th July 1881.

ART. VIII.—SOCIAL LIFE IN BENGAL FIFTY YEARS AGO, BY AN OLD INDIAN.

IT is my intention to jot down in the following pages my recollections of Bengal society as it was fifty years ago. India was not then what it is now. Every thing has altered. The boundaries have altered, and are, indeed, altering every day before our eyes. The India of those days did not include Oude, the Punjab and Scinde; in fact, the greater portion of what now really constitutes India had not yet been conquered. Neither Lord Gough nor Sir Charles Napier had won his splendid victories in the Punjab and Scinde, nor had Sir Henry Lawrence fallen at Lucknow. Bengal had not yet been sunk into a mere province of a vast empire, rivalling China, but was the chief possession of the British in Asia, their veritable pagoda tree. A race of British officials and planters thrived and flourished there, of whom none are left now. The young men of those days, in the very few instances where they are yet alive, have now become old and grey-headed, and are living a very retired life on their past official and private earnings. Even the race of old Indian natives, down to the very servant-class, has passed away. With the passing away of the "ancients" and the "ancient landmarks," manners and society have altered, play has altered, though here, in hunting and in racing, much of the old traditions linger; and even work is different from what it was. This will be seen more in detail as we proceed; suffice it to say here, what every old Indian of even a quarter of a century ago—the transition period—now living will know, that Indian society, men, manners, work and play, are now so entirely altered, that it is almost impossible to recognise the India of their time in the India of the present day.

Though I deal with the past, and with a very striking subject, I do not pretend to bring to it the descriptive powers and literary ability of a Kaye, or a Hunter. Whatever is here offered must be received by the readers and critics of the present day with indulgence. It is offered simply and heartily, by one who has lived and moved in the scenes he describes, and the cunning of whose right hand is fast forsaking him; one who is feeling the truth of Solomon's old saying, that even the light springing of the grasshopper becomes a serious burden to contemplate. "

I have known, in those early days which I review, some who were in every way better qualified to take up such a work; whose experience again reached even a quarter of a century beyond the period here treated of; who saw what Bengal was

when first acquired; who were the pioneers of the great Western civilisation in a densely barbarous heathen land, shut out from the light for so many thousands of years; who had themselves to represent the honour and courage and high name of the Briton in vast districts, as large as English counties, in the interior, where the arm of the new-born English law, or of English medicine, had not yet penetrated; who could relate many an anecdote of Governors-General, then Governors of Bengal, whom they personally knew; and who also lived and moved in the scenes described here. Facile of pen, educated in ancient seats of learning, noble of mood, and even of blood, conversationalists to a degree that would have struck even the immortal Johnson with astonishment, and perhaps envy; with rich funds of practical wisdom, experience and anecdote; they have, alas! passed away with all their sterling qualities and invaluable knowledge. Brave and rare old men they were. We shall never see their like again!

There are one or two yet living who are able for the task I undertake; hale elders who still defy time; but alas! they are, however young in feeling, covered with the snow of age: their fingers are stiff, though their grasp of the hand be hearty and strong; and lest I, too, soon attain to that condition when writing much and long shall become an unnecessary burden, I deem it necessary to myself to take up the work lest that great misfortune should happen, as every one, I am sure, will consider it, that those early times should go unrecorded and remain quite a blank.

Having thus stated my intention, and apologised for undertaking to carry it out, let me state finally, the way in which I hope to do so, or the plan of this work. In an introductory chapter I shall show the different sets and classes of people of those days, and probably describe a large "station" as it existed then. In the second chapter I shall detail the social life of fifty years ago. The third chapter will depict our fathers at work. The fourth chapter will show them in their sports or at play.

In concluding these preliminary observations, let me remind my readers that half a century is more than a life-time in India; nay more than two life-times. The changes are so rapid, so marked, and so numerous, that often in the space of ten years a new order of things appears on the scene, and in twenty years even old and familiar faces have passed away.—Alas! and, again alas! that it should be so.

*I.—The three "Sets."*

There were in those days only three "sets;" I mean of Europeans in each "station," two of blue porcelain, and one of common

clay. I should rather say that three sets were always to be found in the larger stations. The blue porcelain were the civil and military, and the common clay was the independent, interloping, planting element. I do not imply by this that those in the civil and military all belonged to the blue blood of the aristocracy of great Britain (Ireland was not of very great account in those days, and besides had no "interest" for fifth and sixth cousins, and hence the few Irish names in those early times in India); or that the common clay independent element was of the lower class. There was good or rather high blood unevenly distributed throughout the three. There were not a few, even among the common clay set, of ancient and well known families in England and Scotland; the meaning of three distinct "sets," and the difference implied between blue porcelain and common clay, must be explained.

By three distinct sets, I mean that the Europeans—for there were sometimes French and Portuguese and Greeks, besides Britons—were divided by the nature of their occupations, civil, military, and independent, into three bodies, on the same level as regards private social position, but otherwise, disjoined one from another. The planters and merchants had their own public official status, which was that of tolerance and sufferance. Their interests pulled together, and in one direction. They were the British element in India, actively engaged in solving the problem of India's material advancement—a very difficult one to solve in those early days. According to present notions they generally wanted too much; according to the expectations of those days they actually got too little. They often had to appear, of course, by their native Court agents, in the different courts before the civilians; and otherwise might be indebted to them for official sunshine and favors. Of course, these were returned with compound interest in the shape of balls, hunts, subscriptions, and general hospitality. So this body, or "set," pulled together in one direction in all that related to their public and planting interests. In the same way, while the civilians were one in social status with the planters, and stood indebted to them for numerous private favors, there was a large interchange of courtesies all round; they, the civilians, stood aloof from the independent element in all that related to their official duties and interests, and pulled together in another direction, and this direction often happened to be against the interests of the former set. Hence there arose a partial feeling of jealousy and exclusion between the two sets, which was never referred to in private, but which found expressive vent in public measures. Doubtless this partial feeling of jealousy was increased by the planters witnessing the great power possessed,

and often wielded monomaniacally, by the civilians; while the latter again saw with a feeling akin to envy the ease with which the planters acquired great fortunes;—I may add, and lost them, too! I must add, with regard to the old civilian set, that each reckoned himself a viceroy, or at the very least, a governor. This of course made them carry their heads rather high. But like the early planters, in everything that did not concern their peculiar interests, a finer body of gentlemen than these civilians it would have been difficult to find. Frank, open, generous and hospitable, they stood as bright examples to those who have succeeded them.

The third and remaining set comprised the military, where there were any; and generally, it may be stated, except at a few large stations, there were none, while at the larger purely military stations they were to be found in considerable numbers. The few European regiments were always needed at a few strategic points, and the rest were Sepoy regiments. The officers were in the employ of the Honorable East India Company, a word of power once and in every one's mouth, and were generally called "Company's Officers" in contradistinction to the "Queen's Officers." The former comprised the set I write about, were a fine body of gentlemen and officers, drew handsomer allowances, and had better pay and prospects than the latter. Very often they happened to be drafted off to civil employ; and if they did not actually despise their brethren in the Royal service, they thought very little of them, and pitied the "poor fellows," who were liable any day to be sent off to Canada or the West Indies, who had such poor pay, and who had no prospect of ever attaining to the charge of an Indian province. Generally the Company's officers were remarkably efficient in their own proper duties, and very popular among both the other two sets, as their duties never clashed with the peculiar interests of either. The military band not only "discoursed sweet music" to the "station" on stated days in the week, when all the three sets turned out and chatted together pleasantly at the band-stand, but on the occasion of balls, provided the great element which set fashionable quadrilles in motion, polkas then not having come into vogue. Hence, as the band was at the gift of the Commanding Officer of the station, he was generally conciliated and thought much of. Besides, there were the mess dinners, invitations to which were considered an honor. The officers kept much among themselves, but were always very welcome everywhere.

The exclusiveness, which, it may be imagined, reigned in Bengal in those days, was as nothing compared with what it became a few years later on, when the civilians gradually came to regard themselves as alone privileged to deal with the destinies of the country. The fulsome flatteries and servile adulation of a long down-trodden



oriental race served only to feed their official vanity. A strong caste feeling grew up among them; and as more Europeans came into the country, and some of them trades people, society, which was one before and comprised the three sets, gradually began to draw marked distinctions, and to be divided into several classes. The highest class remained what was the all of society once, that is, the three sets previously described. The next class consisted of the tradesmen who kept shops or trafficked in small ware, and with them were reckoned the higher clerks and assistants in the various offices. Indigo planters, assistants, though in the receipt of comparatively small allowances, were in those days often the cousins, near or far removed, of the owners of the concerns, and specially imported from home to try their hands at making a fortune out in the East, and therefore were reckoned among the "Upper Ten." Such assistants, however, as were engaged in the country, whether stray Europeans, or descendants of the early French and Portuguese settlers who were called "half-castes," were reckoned a lower class. Besides these there were the Christian Armenians.

The Armenians, in those early days, mustered in sufficient numbers in some stations to be noticed in detail here: They had their own Church and a minister or priest from Persia or Armenia; they dressed in the loose oriental flowing garb, though latterly they had begun to copy English fashions when out of doors; lived comfortably in spacious houses, and sometimes owned considerable landed and other property. They had no poor among them; their ladies, as may be expected from a race coming from the foot of the Caucasian ranges, were among the fairest of the daughters of Eve. Oppressed in their native land by Moslem rulers, Persian and Turk, numbers of them, in the middle ages and later on, left their country, generally with their families, in search of a peaceful home elsewhere. They were thus next to the Jews, whom they much resembled in feature, and even in traits of character, travelling hawkers, precious stone merchants, and, when settled, money-lenders to their neighbours. Wherever they found a government more tolerant than the one that ruled their native land, and saw profit to be made, they settled down. Hence it happens that colonies of Armenians, the descendants of the old settlers, are found existing at the present day not only in India but in Venice, the great commercial centre of the middle ages, in Constantinople, and in parts of Russia. Whatever may have been their experience in Constantinople, in India they found a Mohamedan government extremely tolerant of their presence, and a country teeming with people and riches. Hence they gradually increased

their numbers by getting out relatives and others, and, though at first not allowed to erect their own churches, they managed to pass among the natives for a "sect" called "Nazrani," or Nazarenes, i. e., Christians. It is true, that even in India they were squeezed now and then by Nabobs (viceroys), and had perhaps to part with a too lovely daughter or sister to recruit the harems of their rulers; but generally they remained unmolested. But for their fairer complexion, they would have passed unnoticed by a stranger among the other inhabitants of the country. The advent of the British, and with them a stable government, stable titles to landed property, freedom to erect churches, and enjoy all the ordinances of their religion, new manners and customs, induced several changes among them. They built better dwelling-houses, purchased landed property, entered more freely into trade, erected handsome churches, imported priests, and, while in doors they continued to dress in their old oriental style, in public they gradually assumed the European costume of coat and trowsers. Further, under Moslem rule, their females had always been kept strictly immured, but now they appeared freely in public, and drove about in costly carriages. With all these changes, however, they still remained Orientals in talk, manners, habits and nature. Very few knew English; they sat cross-legged, and on carpets on the floor while at home; oriental dishes graced their tables; and, as may be expected, they were cunning, overreaching and suspicious. Such were the Armenians of fifty years ago in India. A great change, however, has since come over them. European costume has been assumed both at home and abroad; every one knows English; English manners have been adopted; English habits and modes of thought have crept in; even their very names have been anglicised. Thus, while before, but for their complexion, they could hardly be distinguished from the natives; now (only that their thoroughly oriental cast of features betrays them) it is impossible to distinguish them from the British. Owing to the paucity of the female element among the British in India in those early days, and the glitter of a golden dowry which the fair Armenian young lady possessed, several Englishmen intermarried into Armenian families.

They were received equally by the two classes of European society before mentioned. Along with some few descendants of Greeks, they were allowed a considerable latitude in the interpretation of social rules by the upper ten, beyond what was extended to the poorer class of Europeans. In time, however, while some few Armenians rose up to the level of the higher class, most of them found their level in the second class. The Greeks showed even less progress.

*The Station.*

The use of this word still obtains in India, although it was at first applied in times when the recent military conquest of Bengal necessitated the placing, or "stationing," of troops at different strategic points of the country. Hence in those early days the term was restricted and applied only to localities where the military were "stationed." As these localities were also generally the centres of native population, where a staff of civilians, judges, magistrates, &c., was kept up to administer the law and govern the district, the term came gradually to be distinguished by the further "addition of civil or military, and thus localities came to be either both, or one or the other. Where both were united, the place was generally the chief city of a large extent of country, with a numerous and wealthy fixed native population. In such places there was usually a civilian of the highest class, called a Commissioner, who was subordinate only to the Governor-General (who was Governor also of Bengal, or who, from his position as Governor of Bengal, the leading and most important Presidency, was also Governor-General), there being no Lieutenant-Governor in those days. Such stations were called "civil" stations, and, except within the military lines, the civil authority was supreme there. In places where there was no civil element in the government, or where the civil element was of a subordinate kind, the military authority being supreme, the stations were called military stations. Calcutta itself was an example of the former, or to take a more appropriate one, Patna, while, adjoining it, Dinapore was an example of the latter. And before we pass on to describe our station, we may observe that this distinction into civil and military stations sometimes led to the most terrible and ludicrous feuds between the civil and military authorities, where, from its unimportance, a place was too insignificant to be specially marked out as civil or military, and there was a subordinate element of both in it, and both contended for the supremacy. In such instances each sought to exercise the command of the place. Often probably the contest lay in merely the sound of a word, or in something that the combatants could give no rational account of. But the whole station would be set by the ears, divided into two parties, one siding with the civil ruler, and the other with the military. These feuds seldom proceeded beyond cold nods, exclusion from invites to dinners, &c., while each strove to excel the other in pompous commands and general orders about the veriest trifles, or even nothing at all, and in a more vigorous prosecution of gaieties and amusements. In one instance, however, that comes to our

mind, where the civil official was a Scotchman and the Commander of the small military detachment was an Irishman, the quarrel came to such a pass, that the question of supremacy was actually referred to the higher authorities, with what result we forget, but we suspect to the discomfiture of the military. The bone of contention in this instance was the unfortunate Doctor, who in such places usually bore the double aspect of civil and military, being nominally reckoned in the latter, but really belonging to the former class. Having thus been prominently brought forward, instead of being left neglected in the interior all his Indian days, he was soon promoted to a high post and appointed to Calcutta. Some good thus resulted for at least one; and the truth of an old saying was exemplified in this instance, too, for a young lady was at the bottom of it all!

To proceed: our station, which we shall call Pogglepore (it boasted of a pretty well supplied Lunatic Asylum), was one which blended the civil and military elements in happy union; was an ancient native capital, like so many others in India, but at the same time was an important centre of trade and population; was situated in the interior, far removed from Calcutta and its cliques; was the centre of an extensive old Indigo planting country; contained all the different "sets," and "classes" already described, as well as a good many Armenians, and some few Greeks, who, like the former, had their own quarter, their separate church, &c.; and hence in every way, even in the matter of natives, being both a Hindoo and a Mahomedan city, was well suited to show what Bengal was in those days, and exemplify our recollections of fifty years ago. It was such an important place, on the whole, that we might fill up a volume with its history, and an account of its peoples, languages, native trades, &c., and its present commercial- and other capabilities. This has already been performed very faithfully, up to forty years back, by a worthy Doctor, who until lately was enjoying a vigorous green old age in his native highlands in Scotland, and who, we trust, still lives, one of the very very few surviving links connecting this with a past generation. Forty years back we have seen him grey in the hot damps of Bengal, as healthy and happy a specimen of humanity as could be found anywhere (those were the days of "giants"), and only eight years ago he could walk his twenty miles a day about his beautiful native town of Elgin; but alas!—thrice alas!—how few of his compeers, how few even of the writer's own compeers, survive to the present day. Even while we are copying this manuscript out fair for the printer, our hands almost drop powerless by our side at the fresh tidings of the decease of another—the most venerated,

loved, and respected, of them all, the guide of our youth and the friend of our age, for whose eye alone, in the first instance, this account has day by day, through many months and years, been written, in silent communion with whom it has been thought out and carried to an end.

The ancient city was, indeed, a remarkable one. Not only, as we have seen, has a work been devoted entirely to its history and description, but men high up in the civil service, as well as wealthy planters, have spent large sums of money in engraving and depicting scenes and old remains in and near Pogglepore in large and costly plates and panoramas before the days of the discovery of the photographer's art, such as has been done for no other town or city in any part of India, save, perhaps, Delhi. Pogglepore had been once a Mahommedan capital, and had before been an old wealthy Hindoo city. It was centrally situated on a fine river, for a large extent of productive country, the trade of which flowed to it for export to Calcutta, and even abroad as far as China. It had also numerous native manufactures; and annually held a "World's Fair" for centuries attended by Arab, Persian, Turkish, Cabul, Mogul, Burmese, and other traders, before the idea was mooted in the West and improved upon. It stood on the left bank of the river, on an elevated tract of very old date. Altogether the city extended for about two miles along the bank, with an average depth of about a mile. A couple of canals, either natural or dug, intersected the city north and south, uniting in the interior. Substantial masonry bridges crossed these canals at various distances and afforded continuous road ways. Small and large country boats lined the banks of the river and the canals, and plied a continuous traffic. A large Mahommedan fort of solid masonry with considerable architectural pretensions in parts, lay to the extreme west of the city. The Mahommedan portion of the city was confined to within a mile from this fort, while the Hindoo portion principally occupied the remaining mile to the east. The former was densely built upon with brick-houses down to the river's edge. The latter was sparsely built upon, and collections of thatched native huts intervened between the better class of houses. From this quarter broad flights of steps, called ghâts, led down to the river to permit the daily ablutions of the Hindoos, and it was along the banks here, too, that the principal European residences lay. Large brick mansions, two and more stories high, they were, such as had already begun to be erected in Calcutta. Each mansion had large grounds and handsome gardens attached. Stretching along the elevated bank of the river for more than a mile, the view

of the city from the water was superb, and not excelled by Old Garden Reach of Calcutta, before docks and steamers invaded it. For the rest, or the western half of the city, the view was almost one undistinguishable mass of masonry, mixed up with the domes and minarets of mosques, the spires of Hindoo temples, palatial *kuttras* (old free Hostleries), narrow ghâts, terminated on the extreme west by the imposing high walls of the fort, frowning over the river. On the whole, the view of the city from the river was not surpassed anywhere in those days in India. Calcutta is a modern creation, and its type is different. Patna was only a mass of mean dwellings. Benares, so thoroughly Hindoo, old and Oriental, always presented a striking appearance from the opposite, or southern, bank of the river, but its type also was different. Neither Allahabad nor Cawnpore, though worth seeing from the river, was to be compared with Pogglepore. Lucknow was grand in its composite Oriental style, but its very narrow river presented no vantage ground for an extensive view. The fort and palace and Tâj of Agra, with its other celebrated ancient gardens and tombs of marble, together with imperial Delhi, were of course unrivalled, but their type was, like that of Benares and Calcutta, totally different. We can only compare like things with like. Lahore, with its great city, its fort, and the Badâmi Bâgh, presented a very pleasing, and even imposing, aspect, when the Ravee was at its full; but the picturesque appearance of Pogglepore was unrivalled. Every visitor spoke of it in terms of the highest admiration. People always in those days travelled by river in boats when they did not proceed overland by dâk; modes of travelling which will receive attention hereafter.

The city had its own different quarters for the different nationalities and trades, and its own public institutions. As before mentioned, the European residents lived on the bank of the river, and this was the part specially designated the "station." The military, consisting of a native regiment with its European officers, occupied an extensive plain, more than a mile distant in the interior, on the north. Here, too, with the native lines, there were a few fine residences for the colonel and other officers. The burial ground lay a little to the east, and there were some graves of Englishmen in it more than a century old. Adjoining the "station," on the bank of the river, stood the large remains of an old French "factory." One portion of the city was occupied by Hindoo shell-cutters, another by Hindoo weavers, another by Mahomedân masons, another by Mogul merchants, and so forth. The Armenians and Greeks lived in their own quarters, next to the Mahomedâns, and separated by half a mile from the

European "station." Almost in the centre of the Mahomedan portion lay the "chowk," or daily bazaar, occupying an extensive open square. Here everything in the shape of Asiatic goods could be procured, from gold brocade to a glass of *sherbet*. Rows of low shops made of mats, with narrow lanes, covered the whole ground. In the morning the Square was lifeless and still; by 3 o'clock in the afternoon the shops began to open, and shortly after the entire Square with the roads, running on four sides of it, was alive with the busy hum of men, bargaining, buying, selling, and moving about. Immediately to the west of this "chowk" stood the largest of the Mahomedan mosques in the city. To the north, separated by a few streets, stood the *Hussainee Dawlân*, a pretentious structure, where annually the funeral obsequies of the Sheeah martyrs, Hassan and Hussain, were usually performed, in the style of the "miracle plays" of the middle ages. Half a mile to the west of the "chowk" stood the old fort called the *Lâl Bâgh*, which, rendered literally, means "the priceless gem of a garden," "lâl" meaning a fabulous gem of priceless value. A mile to the north of the native city, and well out of it, lay the Race Course, a fine picturesque spot, well laid out.

The fort, however, deserves more detailed mention :—It was the lion of the place, and there was none like it, or to compare with it, in all Bengal eastward of Benares. More than forty years ago its details were brought out, with splendid engraved plates, in a work which has passed into oblivion, by some enthusiastic admirer of antiquity in the civil service of those days, and now a copy of it will probably be found in only a few old English families, or in some dusty corner of the India Library. In figure the fort was almost square, with its sides facing the four cardinal points. The south faced the river, which in those days swept past the walls. The west side, too, evidently faced what in early times must have been a considerable bend of the stream, as it is all *chur* land, or river alluvial deposits, since built on, but in the times we write of still lying low, and partially used for cultivations. The north faced what must have been an extensive plain, now densely built upon. The east faced the great busy and crowded oriental city, that which there was none larger or more important in India eastward of Benares. From such portions of the walls as are still standing, their height seems to have been very considerable; and at a distance from the river must have presented quite as imposing an appearance as the great stone fort at Agra and Delhi. The gate-ways still partially standing on the north and east are grand, even in their decay. The material was baked brick, there being no stone

procurable near, and the cement used was so peculiar, that, after the lapse of ages, it is impossible to get the bricks out entire. The thickness of the walls was very great, being generally six feet, and in parts often more. There was a considerable display of architectural taste in the magnificent gate-ways. The north gate was walled up about a century or more ago by a native viceroy with an inscription recording an extraordinarily low price for rice which then prevailed. The interior grounds were laid out in gardens, splendid tanks, and buildings, two of which only call for remark. One appeared to be the State dungeon, where political prisoners or captured rebels were let down inside through narrow apertures on the top, and the other, a mosque-tomb of pure white marble, being a miniature representation of the great Agra Tâj Mahâl. Here lay the remains of a regretted and beautiful daughter of a previous Nabob or viceroy. Along the river walls on the south ran an extensive range of barracks or store-rooms under ground. When we last saw the fort, now many years ago, the larger portion of the surrounding walls was gone, and populous suburbs had been formed both to the west and south, where the river had receded very considerably. The fort itself was being used as police barracks! Town pic-nics also occasionally came off there!

Roads led from the city and "station" eastward for eight miles to a neighbouring small fort, and northward for nearly an equal distance to an old Portuguese settlement, which must have been once the field of a battle, from the name by which it is known now. A mile north beyond the native city lay the "station" race course in a picturesque spot.

Such was Pogglepore then—what is it now? The old fort has, we should think, quite disappeared, unless a ruin or two, still standing, serves to show its ancient site. A first-class English College has been erected on the site of the English "factory." The old French "factory" has been converted into a showy palace, by a Mahomedan, originally a draper or seller of native clothes, then a land-speculator, and now dignified with the title of Nawab. The canals have been dug, deepened and cleared. European mansions have sprung up in numbers on the banks of the river, and even higher up, and fine roads have been laid out through the town. Water has been brought at considerable cost into the town for domestic purposes. Public buildings of a pretentious character, hospitals, colleges, and court-houses, adorn various quarters of the city. A pretty iron suspension bridge spans the width of the eastern canal. The "military lines" have been removed to a position east of this canal, the finest and healthiest spot available. Steamers visit the station several times a week, carrying goods and



passengers to and fro; while the Railway itself is not far off. Finally, there is a Central Telegraph Office. We would, if we could, have again those early times, but it is no more possible to do so than to call back to life those manly forms and noble souls who were once by our side, and now lie in their last narrow resting places.

## II.—*In Society.*

From the condition of the interior provinces of Bengal in those early times, and the state of things as described in the preceding pages, it may be anticipated that the details we proceed to furnish will be as unlike, as possible, to what we see round us at the present day. Social life in Bengal has altered greatly; indeed, has changed altogether from what it was. Formerly life was never dull, and that, too, when there were not the home magazines and thousand-and-one trifles of the present. The community, however small, moved together. There were certain amusements, and the most was made of them. There was large room for freedom of action; individuality and originality were not censoriously treated, or sternly repressed as crimes; and Mrs. Grundy was hardly known, save as a young lady in her teens. To contribute to the pleasure and happiness of the community, was a common object withal. In these modern days of the rapid march of improvement our interior provincial communities, however small, have little in common and are split up into still smaller sections; and Mrs. Grundy thrives in the full vigor of middle age. Amusements are rare, for the greed of money has set in, and there are too many to share in the old pagoda tree. The great wealthy planters who led the way in bringing people together and making things pleasant, are gone; and civil servants are now moved about from one place to another, before they have had time to look round them.

### .. *The Ladies.*

The ladies, of course, must form the first subject of attention with us. We were far more gallant in those days, even if girls were birched in schools, and were not taught to regard "honors" in a Cambridge Examination as the great prize of life. Of course, there were very few of them, and those of any interior station might have been reckoned up on the fingers of one hand. A woman, who at all times is a marvel and a mystery, is a host in herself, and three or four ladies may be regarded as a Macedonian phalanx, conquering and unconquerable. In their peculiar sphere, from which they seldom obtruded themselves, their will was law, and if they did venture to go beyond

their line, it was with a womanly grace and tact that was charming to observe. Of course we are writing of the interior, and not of Calcutta, where the Grand Duchesses of society were nothing, if not political. There were, however, no politics in the interior. As the few representatives of the fair womanhood of the west of our early days, who had the pluck to share the hot and pestilential climes of the east, by the side of their husbands or brothers, they were regarded in very truth as good "ministering angels," and a deference was paid to them which resembled that of the days of chivalry. No race could come off without the presence of ladies. The colours for the jockeys were chosen by ladies. A grand tiger hunt, or, in other words, an extended picnic, with just that element of excitement in it that made things pleasant, could not be reckoned complete without ladies. And though there were none of the modern tribe of "bow-wows," even a ride would have been reckoned incomplete without a fair equestrian. Balls, of course, had ladies as their principal ornament and attraction. On grand occasions, neighbouring stations, were indented on for ladies, and sometimes the muster was not so poor as may be imagined. We refer to English ladies, for there were always some others, as Greeks and Armenians.

The English-born ladies of the station were, in most instances, connected with the civil and military services, and of good home families. In the days of their youth, Maria Edgeworth's *Moral Tales* had not appeared, and Fielding's and Richardson's held supreme sway in the matter of reading for even young ladies. The result was a spiciness of character and piquancy of behaviour, such as might perhaps be condemned by prim and starched morality, but which in those days was reckoned as only natural, perfectly virtuous, and even commendable. However religious a woman may have been,—and what woman is not?—there was not one who forgot that she was in the world—a world which necessarily required her presence and attention. As for anything actually loose and reprehensible, we may point out that Fielding's and Richardson's heroines always came out unsullied.

Those were days also of bonnets, for more than thirty years now gone out of fashion, and low-necked dresses, such as are now reckoned antiquated and unsuitable, yet we must confess that a pretty face used to look very well in a pretty bonnet. We remember the time when hats began to usurp the place of bonnets, hats of a shape and appearance now entirely lost, and they were not considered an improvement. The low-necked dresses, too, showing a good portion of the bust, were unexceptionable; but we have now become so moral, that we may cut short this portion of our remarks. There were also some other engaging

portions of the feminine dress, which have long ceased to be worn, and the names even of which are unfamiliar to ladies of the present day. We pass them over as we do not recollect more than two or three of them; only let us state here that the ladies of the period we are glancing at, were not only very presentable and even pretty in personal appearance, but both tasteful and elegant in matters of dress.

Armenian ladies at home wore their own peculiar eastern costume, but this was set aside for European clothes in public. These fair Armenians were generally good-looking, some absolutely pretty. Bright, dark eyes, fringed with long lashes, arched eye-brows, meeting in the middle, a nose which was often perfection, oval faces and kissing lips, long brown hair, and shapely figures, with a light brunette or brownish rosy complexion; such was the dower given by Nature to these comely eastern maidens, descendants of Sarah, whose beauty was so remarkable as to have tempted the king of Egypt of old. "And besides this natural dowry, they often had command of much money and lands. They were, therefore, very welcome at the balls and other public amusements, as the races. From private social intercourse, they were excluded owing to their general ignorance of English manners and language. A stray young officer or planter, however, would sometimes find his way to their houses, and in some instances got married to eligible parties.

Jackets were then universally worn by gentlemen, even as in 1825, in Bishop Heber's time, who states that he himself did not sometimes hesitate to wear them.

### *Calls and Visits.*

These were very largely indulged in, and were either, as in the case of gentlemen, just a dropping in for a few minutes, or, as in the case of ladies, occasions of state, ceremony and formality. The younger male members of the "Upper Ten," including the junior officers, were always on the move during the day, now seeing one and now another, killing time—no, *passing* time—there was no *killing* it in those days—as pleasantly as they could, while the older members, too, would not seldom just take somebody for a few minutes on their way to or from cutcherry. These calls, of course, were *sans ceremonie*, and served to keep up the *entente cordiale* between the very few Europeans. There were, however, other calls of greater state and formality, participated in by both the female and male members among the older ones of the Honorable Company's fold. Sometimes an old bachelor, who somehow always happened to be rich, and therefore (?) in the good

books of the ladies, paid a formal call when the whole establishment—peons, hurkarus, choddars, abdars, &c., was moved to receive him. Long before the buggy or state-carriage had driven half way into the grounds, and the grounds were spacious about the residences, the house was astir, peons running, punklias, if hot weather, set agoing, and almost before the visitors' turn-out had drawn up under the spacious portico, or he had set his feet on the ground, hurkarus and chuprasees were ready with folded hands to lead him in, when the lady of the house herself met him, with a face radiant with smiles, and ushered him into the sumptuously furnished drawing-room. Here he was speedily made comfortable on a rich couch or chair, and perhaps also there was another lady member of the house or visitor, and the master of the house if he happened to be in. The visits of ladies were occasions of almost equal cordiality, and greater ceremony, and were either briefer or much more prolonged. The formal visiting hour was in the afternoon. Of course, the lady of the Commissioner, who was then the Governor-General's Agent in the district, when he happened to have a wife, was reckoned the first in the station. If the Colonel had a wife, she generally took rank next, but not seldom the Judge's wife contested the place with her, and the result was a great deal of silent amusement among the gentlemen, except the two parties most nearly affected, and the split-up of the female element into two *cliques* or parties, in which the Judge's wife had generally the larger following. The Doctor's and Chaplain's wives brought up the rears. The independent members of the small male community seldom had any wives or female relations.

When, therefore, a lady of a higher (official) rank paid a visit to one of lower, though socially of the same class, there was more display of ceremony, and less ceremony when it was the Magistrate's or Doctor's wife visiting the Commissioner's or Colonel's. Where there existed no secret rivalries, of official position, influence or good looks, the cordiality of the reception was, however, the same. But when there did exist, for some cause or other, a rivalry, there was more of formality, and little cordiality. The Doctor's lady sometimes considered herself above the Chaplain's. And if the Magistrate's wife happened to be very attractive, and the Judge's merely passable, there was great rivalry between them, the former standing on her personal good fortune and powers of pleasing, and the latter on her husband's official position. If there were, as sometimes—but rarely happened, two young ladies in different houses, there naturally existed a great deal of rivalry between them, and their respective seniors. Nearly every little thing relating to every one was

known to every one else, sometimes even the hour at which his Judicial Majesty the Judge happened to wake.

### *Conversation.*

And yet, in those days, scandal was not so much indulged in as the above facts, and the paucity of numbers, and isolation, would lead one to expect. Any scandal proper was generally confined to the ladies. The male element commonly pulled together without detracting from each other's merits. It was only in very rare instances that any gentleman was made the butt of uncharitable comment by his fellows. Humour, there was in abundance, and even mirth and laughter at the expense of some obtuse or pachydermatous individual; but they were not meant to hurt him, nor did they.

There were many things to talk about in those days. There were the daily local items of news, both private and particular and of general interest. Besides these, there was local *native khubber*, or *gup*. External and metropolitan (Calcutta) news, including movements and promotions of officials, Calcutta gossip, Government measures (and those were days of startling news sometimes) and English Mail news when it happened to be in, came in to supplement local matter. All these made up a very decent, if not heavy, budget, which passed on from one to another, till, by the evening, every one had become aware of every single item. Let us proceed to view these several sources of news.

Of local European news, matters of private and particular interest were such as related to births, marriages, and deaths. Of general and public interest were new arrivals, departures, projected changes, grand tiger hunts, races, balls, and even more modest shooting parties, dinners, some notable decision in court, the punishment or apprehension of some old native offender, prices of country produce, old some one meeting with a serious accident, and young such an one having been thrown from his horse. On such subjects much could and would be said; and to meet and see some one during the course of the day was a necessity, if only to get in, and give out, the news. The local native *gup* consisted of items relating to every one, European and Native, and everything in general, the state of the crops, strange stories, &c., which came to be current in Native society and in native bazaars. Sometimes this native news was exceedingly uncomplimentary to individuals, and some scandal used to arise in this way. However, it was not much regarded, not because of the lying habits of the natives, but because of their different plane of moral life, which prevented them from seeing things in the same light as Englishmen.

The daily post came in by breakfast time (9 A. M. or 10 A. M.),

and formed or furnished the chief source of external news. Letters were real letters in those days, not of the 2-pice kind, but of the 2-aunas, and often 4-annas postage sort; such letters are seldom written in these days, except by very old-fashioned people in out-of-the-way places. There were no duns, or tradesmen, pressing for a settlement of their bills in those days in India, and hence no letter was ever regarded with suspicion, but all were very welcome, unless black-bordered. The Post Office was a very slow and even cumbrous affair in those days as compared with what it is at present; but, though just four times the time was occupied in the transmission, and though the postage charges were considerable, and not paid by stamps, still it was far safer than the present arrangement. Every letter was *booked*, and the Post Office had to give a receipt for every letter sent, and took a receipt for every letter delivered. There was no mislaying or robbery of letters. The messenger who brought them did not throw them in to the first person he met at the gate and hurry off, but walked inside the grounds, and either saw the "sahib" himself, or sent in the post with the acknowledgment book through a bearer or peon to be signed. Our present mode of registering letters, is the remnant we possess of the correct practice of those days. The usual reading and discussion of the letters followed, and this was one of the most important and most pleasant processes of life in those days. There was no hurried glance over the contents, and tossing the letter away into a waste paper-basket. There was a careful perusal and study of it—reading, marking, learning, and inwardly digesting of it,—and then the letter was either carefully folded up again and laid by, or passed on to some other member of the family with some pithy or feeling comment. Business letters used to be reserved for after reading in the office and during work hours, of course, to such as had an office. Besides letters, there were newspapers. The two papers in Calcutta, nay, in all North India and Bengal, were the *Englishman* and the *Hurkuru*, both conducted with great spirit and rare ability, of course, the organs of the independent element and English sentiment throughout the country. The independent European community, the pioneers and makers of the present extensive trade of India, found their whole sympathies go forth with these journals, their hopes, as it were, bound up in them. The annual subscriptions stood at very high figures, but there was not one independent European in the country who did not subscribe to one or other, or to both, and accord them that moral support by which alone they could exist. These papers shot ahead and attained a prominence, influence and position, long before the Bombay and

Madras dailies appeared on the scene. The *Hurkaru* has long since been deceased; the *Englishman* still flourishes. Let us wish it a long life, if only for its traditions. There was also a weekly paper called the *Friend of India*, edited by the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore, and looked on as the organ of the official party. This paper, too, has ceased to exist, after having passed out of the hands of the Baptists.

After scandals, local news, news brought in by the post, either country or home, including newspapers, were exhausted, there remained further the movements of officials and the military. Although the stay of the last used to be regulated according to requirements, and was generally well known, sometimes the period would be extended. The civil servants had longer and more indefinite periods of stay. Whenever the news went out that any one was leaving, farewell dinner parties at which the bonds of fellow-feeling among the handful in a foreign land were drawn closer together, became the order of the day. Especially were the "big guns" thus treated. The military vied with the civilian element, and the independent with the other two, which should do the best. When the military cleared out, they themselves gave a good dinner, and were treated separately by the civilian and independent elements. The independent set seldom found themselves torn from their places, and were generally the permanent and abiding representatives of the British wherever they were, and the only element coming into business contact and relations with the inhabitants of the country. Official and military departures were often the subject of conversation for weeks,—nay, months, beforehand, but, a day or two after the event, gave away to fresher themes and events, their places being generally at once supplied by new comers.

Finally, domestic incidents, such as births, &c., though few in number, were proportionately important. Marriages were the rarest, not occurring sometimes for a number of years, till the traditionary ceremonies connected with them, of bridesmaids, favors, &c., were well nigh forgotten, and had to be raked up to recollection by the united efforts of all the ladies. The deaths, too, though few, came with a suddenness, and a mournfulness among the small community that was quite striking. The cloud and gloom cast over the station by such an event would not be removed for some time after. When any one was laid up, the doctor was the most important person in the small community. He was supposed to be fighting with grim death, and, indeed, he often was. We have known of one who had two sick cases at once thrown on him, and with little food, no rest and no sleep, attended by the bedside of one or other of the

patients for three days and nights. The births were the most frequent of the domestic events, and among these the incident of an elephant calving used to be generally known among the Doctor's male friends.

### *Meat and Drink.*

Meal times were important occasions in those days, as they not only furnished the needed unbending of the bow kept usually strung to hard work, but brought the rougher in contact with the gentler sex, afforded a field for the exercise of some manners and even polish and furnished an occasion of agreeable and interesting conversation. Sometimes, too, there were one or more guests or visitors, and thus a dinner became a meeting ground of fellow countrymen in a strange land. Especially were dinner parties occasions of much moment.

Breakfast and dinner constituted the principal meals, and then every one was expected to be, and necessarily was, present. An early cup of tea or coffee, or even chocolate (we do not remember the existence of cocoa,) with a little toast and butter, *before* the morning ride or walk (there was no such substantial egg *chota hazri* coming *after* the ride as we have now); a lunch or tiffin at 1 P. M. to sustain nature till the late dinner: and tea or coffee after dinner, and not long following it; these completed the daily round of meals. The first, tea or coffee in the morning, was simply an expedient to refresh the system on waking and lay in a slight stock of nourishment previous to taking exercise. Some used to have this early "small breakfast" *after* their return. Generally this meal was taken in bed, the khausamah's assistant placing the cup, &c., on a small teapoy, or three-legged stand, near the head of the bed. When there were more than one who went out together, the fare was laid out in the breakfast-room, where every one adjourned for brief morning enquiries, and before getting on hat and gloves. No ladies were present at this, unless on special occasions, as at the time of the races, when they, too, were obliged to rise early and start with the gentlemen.

Breakfast was the first occasion when every one, ladies and gentlemen, met together, for generally more than half an hour, previous to separating for the day's work and duties. This meal was of the most cheerful description. With every one's face bright with the cheerful light of the morning, the glow of health and exercise, and the meeting of one with another, every one felt disposed for homely, kindly feeling. The post, too, often coming in at this time, every one had his or her letter; and, excepting business letters, they were all perused, and any news



generally interesting passed on. A fresh newspaper, too, would perhaps be opened, to see if there was any thing particularly new and interesting, and then thrown aside for the evening. The meal itself consisted of standard Indian breakfast dishes, as *soojee* and milk, rice and *dhall*, or *kedgerie*, omelettes, half-boiled eggs, toast and butter, and tea or coffee. At 10 A. M. the breakfast-room was again deserted, the ladies had gone, and the gentlemen were engaged in their several occupations. At tiffin or lunch, though the ladies were present, and there was some little conversation, the party broke up early, each returning to his or her duties. The meal consisted of a cold piece of mutton or beef, some curry and rice, ale, bread and cheese, with perhaps a little wine.

It was, however, in the evening, after the drive, walk, or ride, and generally, too, after a bath to wash away the work, dust and heat of the day, that the principal meal of the day, dinner came off. Every one, as he or she got ready, assembled in the drawing-room, and as soon as the second bell rang, all proceeded in state to the dining-room, gentlemen and ladies often forming couples, and bachelors gracing the rear. This meal was in style, and the *khansamah* himself, who had been (or was supposed to be), so hard worked all day in making purchases, supervising operations, &c., that he had not been seen hitherto, now made his appearance, with all his assistants, sometimes three of them, and all in clean and neat Native dresses. As soon as the party were all comfortably seated, and perhaps a blessing asked, off went the lid of the soup-tureen, this being the special duty of the said butler. We are not aware that he did anything else in particular, except, often, pour out the wines and ale. The rest of the native waiters were generally fully occupied. The dishes at dinner consisted of soup, fish, roast or boiled mutton, or a round of beef, or chickens with potatoes and vegetables, curried meat or chicken with rice, puddings, custards and pastry, with a dessert of fruits to wind up with. This meal used to be well discussed, for it was a good stretch from 9 A. M. to 7 P. M., with only something to stay hunger with at 1 P. M., and with any amount of work and exercise to boot. When strangers were present, full dress was observed; and the flow of talk was literally a flow of soul. At parties, the display of plate and glass used to be magnificent, of course we write of one of the best houses of the time. The dinner lasted a good hour, till about 8 P. M., when the ladies rose and adjourned to the drawing-room. There after a further little discourse and discussing of wines, the gentlemen, too, repaired, and separated into groups, some engaging themselves to ladies, others glancing at the papers, and so on. We have no recollection in those days of seeing any pipes, now so common in smoking. Those who cared

to smoke could do so in an open balcony. After a considerable interval, the coffee or tea was brought in, with biscuits, and either handed to each, or placed on *teapots* before each group.

Such were the meals and meal times of those days; and they were better in every way than even the best at the present day,\* except at the houses of the very few remaining ancients. We ought not to pass over certain lunches given by bachelors. These were bachelor reunions, and the notable features about them were a freer license in talk, and a fuller acquaintance with ale, beer, and other drinks. The food and drink of those days were of the best quality. There were no imitation and cheap wines, and the mutton-clubs kept up at the stations furnished meat that would be the envy of the butchers of London. These clubs were formed by the principal residents of a station combining together and subscribing to purchase and keep up a special stock of sheep, specially tended and fed. The breed was the best procurable in the plains; and they were fed on *gram*—a hard and nutritious diet not forming fat, but rendering the meat tissues firmer, and imparting a very delicate flavor to the mutton. The flock was tended by a shepherd on the best pastures, and the distribution of the meat, and the accounts connected with the sheep, were attended to by a secretary chosen from among the subscribers. These mutton-clubs have now become general over North India, owing to the impossibility of getting good mutton from the native butchers. In stations where the winter permitted it, and the heat of the summer needed it, ice, which is now so common in the Plains, used to be collected and stored up for use in an ice-house. The ice-committee was formed on nearly the same principles as the mutton-club. An ice-house, specially constructed, having been erected, the ice formed every morning on the surface of shallow pans laid on straw in an open field with a bleak aspect, was collected and laid by till the winter was over. When the fiercest heats began, the supply of ice, too, began to the subscribers according to their rate of subscription. sometimes this supply lasted through the hot weather; at other times it failed just at the end, when it was most needed. This ice was used only for cooling water and wines. Generally, however, and in the absence of ice, the cooling process in vogue was by means of saltpetre in closed vessels of lead. In the better houses one servant, the *abdar*, an important personage in his line, specially attended to the filtering and cooling of the drinking water. Wines were cooled in a chest under the supervision of the butler himself. Though an orthodox Mussulman,

\* The writer, it will be observed, is altogether a *laudator temporis acti*.—Ed., "C. R."

this functionary was believed generally to have his due share of the wines from the decanters and wastage.

The indigo-planters were noted for their hospitality and the open house they kept. There were always spare beds and spare rooms. Horses, servants, and conveyances were placed freely at the disposal of respectable travellers. The longest journey used to be broken by a series of the most pleasant visits which lived long in the memory, and served to draw closer the bonds of good fellowship between the white aliens. Those good times have now passed away with their men, their manners, and their meals. The *Englishman*, the paper referred to above, thus makes a note of the hospitality of the days that have fled, in a late issue\* :—

“The days have long since gone by—and we look back to them with regret—of those large and friendly parties assembled for a few day’s change in some hospitable house in the mufasal, where Calcutta, with its ceaseless toil and its thousand busy avocations, was left behind for a space, and where a fresher air and calmer surroundings brought a brief repose to the busy brain and restless mind. At an end, too, for the most part are the pleasant station race-meetings to which we can, most of us, look back with pleasure, where all was mirth, cheerfulness, and friendly and jovial intercourse; where for the few days of the meet the grim conventionalities and stiffness of ordinary English society were relaxed and softened; and where all in the station, from the mighty Commissioner himself, with his spacious house and his array of goodly tents, to the young assistant engineer, with his one modest spare room, vied with each other in cordially inviting and welcoming their friends, and in devoting themselves unweariedly to promoting their enjoyment.”

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\* *Calcutta Englishman*, August 24th, 1876, Overland Edition.

## THE QUARTER.

**S**INCE we last wrote, an unexpected revolution in the aspect of affairs in Southern Afghanistan, has again concentrated public attention in India and England on that unhappy country. That the withdrawal of the British troops from Kandahar would be followed by a more or less severe struggle between Ayub and his rival was a foregone conclusion. That the first serious collision would result in the complete collapse of the Amir's cause, West of Kelat-i-Ghilzai, was probably not expected even by Ayub himself. Nevertheless in this case, the unexpected has happened, and it has happened in a way which is still far from having been satisfactorily explained. In the beginning of June, it will be remembered, two successful engagements fought by Abdul Rahman's troops in the neighbourhood of Girishk had justified the hope that, for some time at least, his position might be considered as secure as that of any Afghan ruler usually is. Had the contemptible character of Ayub's forces been known, this hope would probably have amounted to a firm assurance, which would have been further strengthened by the characteristic tardiness of his movements. It was apparently not till nearly the end of the month of June that he left Herat, and, though he pushed on to Naogad with creditable speed, he again delayed there several days, making overtures to the Amir's Governor, with the view, probably, of gaining time to detach the neighbouring chiefs from his cause, and sow disaffection among his troops. These overtures Sirdar Shams-ud-din rejected, and, on the 21st July, Ayub resumed his onward march. What followed is thus described in a letter from Kandahar which has been published officially:—"On arrival at Kadaneck, Ghulam Haidar heard that Ayub had broken up his camp on the night of the 21st, and marched towards Girishk. He immediately followed, but on reaching Girishk found no traces of the enemy. Conjecturing that Ayub must have followed the river with the view of coming lower down and taking the road by Bálákhána to the Argandeh Valley, Ghulam Haidar passed the river at Girishk, and made the best of his way to Khushk-i-Nakud, which he reached on the 25th. Here he found that Ayub was encamped seven or eight miles distant, near the spot of cultivation marked on our maps, Karez-i-atta. On the afternoon of the 25th, Sirdar Gholam Muhiuddin Khán, who had before opened negotiations for Ayub, again wrote to the Amir's officers, declaring that the Sirdar's object was not to

attack the Amir's troops, but to lead his army along the Argandeh and Dori rivers towards Pishin, to drive out the English. The object of this manœuvre was merely to gain time, and get together recruits, in which last desideratum there had hitherto been a wholly unexpected want of success amongst the Zamindawári and Pushtirud tribesmen, who it was confidently predicted would join Ayub *en masse*. Only about five hundred half-armed men on foot and two to three hundred horse, including some from Kandahár, had actually joined him, while the Alizai Chiefs and their followers, some five hundred in number, were all ranged on the Amir's side. Early the next morning, the 26th, the Amir's officers marched to attack Ayub. They found him posted on a rising ground to the right of the road to Kandahár, near a watercourse called Karez-i-asuda. His baggage had been massed in some safe place in or about the river bed, and was invisible. The forces on each side were as follows:—On the Amir's four regiments of infantry, of 600 men each, one regiment of 350 men, 1,200 Khassadars, 2 regiments of regular cavalry, 800 sabres, 500 Zamindawár and Pushtirud sawárs, 1,000 Kandahári sawárs, and 200 Tokhi Ghilzai sawárs, making a total of 6,450 men, who were supported by 18 guns. Some horsemen of the Barakzais among the Kandaháris had deserted after Ayub crossed the river and returned to their homes. They are estimated to have numbered about 200. Ayub's army was composed of two Kábuli and Kandahári regiments, 360 men each, three Herati regiments, 360 each, tribal infantry, say—500 men, 1,400 Herati sawárs, who came with Ayub, 200 regular cavalry, the remains of the advanced-guard with Hashim and Muhamined Hasan Khán numbering about 600 sawárs, and about 300 Kandahári sawárs, making a total of 4,800 men.

Ayub had, besides, 13 or 15 guns. The infantry of his force appears to have been commanded by Hafizulla Khán, and its general direction to have been under the control of the Sipah Salar, Hasan Ali Khán, who had lately joined Ayub from Persia. His disposition appears to have been made with considerable skill. The baggage was disposed as mentioned above; the infantry was drawn up in line, facing north, with the guns in front. The cavalry was massed on its left flank. The obvious course for the Amir's general to have pursued would have been to have kept along the main road to Kandahár, thus turning Ayub's right, and placing himself between him and the city. This would have forced Ayub to change front, or abandon his defensive attitude, and commence the action. Instead of this, Ghulam Haidar advanced to attack at once, without making any attempt at placing his troops in any suitable formation. Four regiments of infantry,

with the guns, seem to have been in front. The baggage, guarded by the fifth and weakest regiment, was behind them, while the rear was brought up by the horse. The battle began by six guns on the Amir's side opening fire at long range. This was not responded to, and one regiment, supported by a second, advanced to attack the right of Ayub's infantry. His guns then opened fire, but without results. The Kábulis then advanced boldly, and drove back the first regiment that opposed them on to the second, which in its turn was giving way, when two regiments in reserve were brought up and repulsed the Kábulis, who were unsupported. They fell back on their guns, followed by Ayub's infantry. No attempt was made to turn the two regiments in reserve with 12 guns to the support of their comrades, but a regiment of the Amir's regular cavalry charged into the enemy's infantry and checked it for a time, but, being unsupported, had to retreat. In the meantime a cavalry action had been going on in the right rear. Seeing the infantry engaged, the Herati horsemen, following their usual tactics, made a wide circuit to their left, got round the Amir's cavalry, and attempted to fall upon the baggage. The Amir's horse intercepted them in time, but were getting the worst of it, when the infantry gave way on the left and precipitated the general catastrophe. Ghulam Haidar made no attempt to rally his troops, but rode off with what remained of the regular cavalry and the treasure, of which there was 4,50,000 Kandahári rupees among the baggage. He was pursued at once by the whole Herati horse, who saw their booty escaping them, and abandoned it without attempting to fight. Of the Kandahári horse some surrendered or went over to Ayub, some made the best of their way to Kandahár. The Zemindawár and Pushtirud sawárs are believed to have gone westwards to their homes. The rearmost of the four Kábuli regiments, which had not fired a shot, surrendered and offered its services to Ayub, but was immediately disarmed. The rest broke and dispersed. No attempt was made to carry off the guns.

• The news of the battle was brought to Kandahár the same afternoon by two Kabuli horsemen, and was soon generally known. No disturbance took place. Shamsuddin Khán closed the gates and told off guards and officers to watch them, and declared his intention to stand a siege until relieved from Quetta or Kábul. Nothing more was heard from Kandahár till the morning of the 31st July. On that day a caravan of merchants arrived at Chaman, having left Kandahár on the 28th. They stated that on the morning of that day Sirdárs Muhammed Hassim and Shamsuddin Khán, with Kazi Saaduddin and the rest of the Kábul officials, went off towards Kábul, taking the treasure with them. On their departure

Sirdár Muhammed Hassan Khán, who had been on bad terms with them, left his house and made proclamation by beat of drum, warning all people to keep quiet. A couple of hours afterwards Sirdar Muhammed Hassim Khán, son of Sharif Khán, arrived, with the Sartip's son and sixty to seventy horsemen, and took peaceable possession of the city on behalf of Ayub."

Other accounts of the battle point still more clearly to disaffection and treachery as the chief causes of the disaster. Besides the Khanabad regiment, the Kandahar cavalry and Ghilzai levies are said to have gone over to Ayub before the complete discomfiture of Ghulam Haidar's force. Ayub's army is reported to have captured a considerable amount of treasure, but according to some accounts the treasure chests of both sides were plundered by the troops. After the battle, Ghulam Haidar made the best of his way to Khelat-i-Ghilzai, where a small force of cavalry and infantry, still remained faithful to the Amir.

The immediate effect of these events on public opinion, both in India and at home, was not only to destroy all faith in the stability of the Amir's power, but to create a wide-spread conviction that his overthrow was imminent. The general expectation was that Ayub would follow up his victory by an immediate advance on Kabul, and that no serious opposition would be offered him. But, whether owing to natural dilatoriness and want of dash, or to the weakness or untrustworthiness of the forces on which he had to depend, Ayub has completely disappointed this expectation. Soon after the battle one of his Kabuli regiments deserted him in a body, and others were disarmed and dismissed, while it is stated that the Kandahari troops who had accompanied him from Herat, refused to move, and that he was badly in want of both money and arms. At all events, beyond pushing forward a detachment towards Khelat-i-Ghilzai, he has shown no disposition to advance from Kandahar, or to assume the offensive. In the meantime his popularity appears to have been steadily declining, and with the view, it is supposed, of providing against the contingency of a retreat, he is reported to have been gradually sending away arms, tents, stores, and money to Herat. He is further said to have issued a fresh proclamation, declaring that his object was to expel the English from Peshin, and that he had no intention of attacking the Amir, and to have forwarded to the latter overtures for peace.

The Amir, on his side, has been making vigorous effort to retrieve the late disaster. On receiving news of the battle, he took immediate steps to re-inforce Khelat-i-Ghilzai, and eventually proceeded to that place himself to take the command of his troops in person.

It is a difficult matter to arrive at the exact dates or other details of current events in Afghanistan; but, from the information to hand, it appears that General Ghulam Haidar Khan, with a brigade of infantry and cavalry, was despatched to Khelat-i-Ghilzai at the beginning of August, Sirdar Muhammad Aziz, with another brigade of the same strength following a few days later. These troops would seem to have covered their ground with a rapidity which throws General Roberts' famous march into the shade, for the force under Muhammad Aziz is said to have reached Khelat-i-Ghilzai on the 18th.

The Amir himself arrived at the same place, with further reinforcements, on the 1st instant, and, according to the latest accounts commenced his march towards Kandahar on the 4th, reached Robat on the 8th, and was encamped in front of Ayub's army, before Kandahar, on the 11th, when an engagement was imminent. His total force is said to consist of seven regiments of infantry and five of cavalry, with fifteen guns.

Before leaving Kabul he caused the arrest of a large number of the leading men of the opposite party, including the notorious Muhammad Jan, and convened a Durbar at which he explained the grounds of his action, and declared his intention of keeping them in confinement till the close of existing complications. At the same time he is reported to have sent away his own family, together with an immense amount of baggage to Afghan-Turkistan.

The attitude of the Government of India, throughout the crisis, has been one of watchful neutrality. Not only is it determined to take no active part in the struggle, unless attacked, but it has no intention of granting the Amir any further assistance either in money or arms. This is the only policy which could prudently be adopted under existing circumstances, or, would be consistent with the action of the Government in abandoning Kandahar.

At the same time, there can be little doubt that it was the abandonment of Kandahar that precipitated the present conflict.

That the struggle would have occurred sooner or later, unless we had permanently occupied Kandahar, and perhaps even in spite of our occupying it, may be granted. But by postponing the evacuation it might, in all probability, have been staved off till the Amir had had time to consolidate his power.

Those who oppose the policy of the Government will naturally argue that, if it was worth our while to assist Abdul Rahman with arms, ammunition, and large sums of money, it was also worth our while to defer the evacuation in order to prevent his being prematurely attacked. To this argument it may possibly be replied that, though important enough to justify a limited expenditure, the preservation of Abdul Rahman's power



was not so important as to warrant our incurring the indefinite risk of being drawn into a fresh Afghan war, and that the prolonged occupation of Kandahar would have exposed us to that risk.

In any case, however, it is difficult to account for the surrender to Abdul Rahman, of the elaborate system of fortifications constructed by us at Kabul, except on the supposition that the Government seriously underrated the danger of his being dispossessed.

That, Kandahar having once been evacuated, non-interference is our proper policy is admitted by all parties. As to the time chosen for that movement, we are disposed to think that, if it was to take place at all, the sooner it took place the better. If late events have proved anything, they have proved that there is no practicable, at any rate no tolerable, alternative between permanent annexation and non-interference in Afghanistan. The mistake, if there was any, was in not annexing Kandahar right out.

The new Government Four per cent. loan was issued on the 25th July at an average price of Rs. 104-12, an extraordinary rate in the light of past operations of a similar kind, and probably an unjustifiably high one, prices having been raised above their natural level by the operations of speculators in time bargains. Scarcely had the result of the loan been announced than paper underwent a rapid and heavy fall, the price of four per cents. going down to Rs. 99-6 in a few days, and the market has since remained more or less depressed, though prices have recovered to the extent of about one per cent.

Among other subjects of domestic interest that have occupied public attention during the past three months, the extension of railway communications with Eastern Bengal and Assam and the Assam Labour Bill hold a conspicuous place.

Major Baring, it will be remembered, in the course of his Budget Statement, announced the conclusion of an arrangement with the Rothschilds for the construction of a railway from a point on the Eastern Bengal Railway line to Jessore and Khulna, an important mart in the Sanderbuns. The details of this arrangement have since been published. From these it appears that the primary undertaking consists of a line from the neighbourhood of Dum Dum to Khulna, *via* Baraset, Bongong and Jessore, with a branch from Bongong to Ranaghat. The following are the terms of the agreement as regards this line:—

I.—The direction and location of the line, as well as the extent and situation of the Calcutta terminus, and of the stations and station-yards, to be subject to the approval of Government. The general character of the structures, permanent way, and rolling stock to be in conformity with the established standards of the Indian 5 feet 6 inch gauge.

II.—Subject to the approval provided for in the preceding

paragraph, the Government will obtain and supply, without cost to the Company, the land required for the original construction of the railway and the works appertaining thereto, and will grant a lease of the same to the Company, free of rent, for 99 years.

III.—The Company to undertake to raise the capital in due time. A deposit of 10 per cent. to be paid as a first instalment into the Bank of England to the account of the Secretary of State, and further instalments of the capital to be paid in like manner as funds may be needed for the purposes of the Company.

The sums thus deposited to be withdrawn from time to time by the Company, as required by them, for expenditure on their undertaking.

IV.—The Secretary of State for India will pay to the Company in London, half-yearly, interest at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum on the capital of the Company deposited with him, until the same shall be withdrawn for the purposes of the Company. Furthermore, until the opening of the "primary" undertakings for traffic throughout, or until the 30th June 1886, whichever event shall first occur, the Secretary of State will advance to the Company half-yearly in London such sum as, added to the net earnings of the Company in such half-year, shall be equal to the half-yearly interest at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum on the capital actually withdrawn for expenditure.

V.—All sums thus advanced to the Company by the Secretary of State shall be repaid in London, with simple interest thereon, at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, by the appropriation of half the net earnings of the undertaking in excess of 5 per cent. on the capital for the time being issued and paid up, until all such advances, with accrued interest, shall have been paid off.

VI.—The Secretary of State to have power to purchase the undertaking of the Company and its equipment at the end of 30 years, or fifty years from the 1st January 1882, by the payment of a sum of 125*l.* for every 100*l.* of stock on giving one year's notice of his intention to do so.

VII.—At the end of 99 years, the works and buildings of the railway, together with the permanent way and structures fixed to the soil, shall become the property of the Secretary of State, who shall then pay the Company the value of the rolling stock and all the moveable property pertaining to the undertaking.

VIII.—The Government, if so desired by the Company, will endeavour to obtain for them on reasonable conditions, running powers for their engines, or goods, or passengers' vehicles over such portions of the Eastern Bengal Railway and the Calcutta Municipal and Port Commissioners' Railways as, in the opinion of the Government, may be necessary to ensure to the Company

convenient access to a suitable terminal station at Calcutta, and to the warehouses and wharves on the Hooghly, or may, in the opinion of the Government, be otherwise expedient.

IX.—The rates and fares to be charged to be within maxima to be fixed by the Government, such maxima not to be lower than those in force on the Eastern Bengal Railway.

X.—In case of failure to work the line (by running at least one train each way per day) the Government to have power to step in and take possession, on terms to be specified in the contract.

XI.—The arrangements for the mail services, troops, &c., to be the same as on the Guaranteed Railways.

XII.—The arrangements for maintaining a telegraph on the Company's railway and the police force shall be such as are provided in the contract with the East Indian Railway Company, dated 22nd December 1879.

XIII.—The Company to be subject to the provisions of the Indian Railway Act of 1879, and to all other Acts of the Indian Legislature in force for the time being in the province of Bengal.

XIV.—The accounts to be kept by the Company, and the returns of traffic shall be in the forms adopted for the Indian Railways worked under the supervision of the Government, and shall be rendered at the cost of the Company, and at the times prescribed by the Government.

XV.—Until all advances made by Government have been repaid by the Company, the accounts of the Company shall be subject to audit by an officer to be appointed by Government, and shall not be closed or accepted until they have been so audited.

For the purpose of carrying out this arrangement, the concessionaires undertook to form a company in London, with a capital of £1,000,000 and debenture powers to the extent of £250,000, and it is further stipulated between the parties that this company shall have power to extend their operations so as to include any one or more of the following objects:—

A.—The acquisition or hire and running of steamers, ferry boats, or other vessels in traffic connexion with the Company's lines.

B.—The construction, &c., and working of railways within the tract of country lying between the Eastern Bengal Railway on the west and north, and the river Ganges on the east.

C.—The construction, &c., and working of railways east of the Ganges and Megna in traffic connexion with the primary undertaking by river steamers, including railway communication with Dukka and Mymensing; with power also to acquire and work any mines of coal in this section.

D.—The extension of the primary undertaking from some suitable point thereof across the Eastern Bengal line and on to Murshidabad and the Ganges.

This power is accompanied by a proviso that, as regards the operations described in clauses B, C and D, it is to be understood that, in the event of the Government desiring to construct railways coming within the terms of those clauses, or receiving any offer from third parties to construct them, the Company to be formed by the promoters shall have a preferential right to the construction of all such lines of railway, subject to their acceptance within six months of the offer, on terms to be named by Government, to carry out any such line. It is also to be understood that this preferential right shall cease from the 1st January 1890.

As regards clause C, the Government of India having decided to construct the line from Dacca to Mymensing, with a branch to Aircha opposite Goalundo, as a State line, the Company have since been called on to signify at once whether they intend to avail themselves of their option.

In addition to the system of lines indicated above, it is in contemplation to connect Bengal with the Valley of Assam, by a railway the route of which has not yet been chosen, but will be decided upon after a survey of the country, to be carried out in the coming cold season; and from a speech of Major Baring in Council, it appears that the Central Bengal Railway Company will be invited to undertake this line also.

The Bill to amend the Labour Districts Emigration Act, entitled the Inland Emigration Bill, was introduced into the Legislative Council and referred to a select Committee on the 7th instant.

The Bill is based, in the main, on the draft Bill of the late Commission, but differs from it in some important particulars. The principal points in which the Commission found the existing law defective were that it did not afford sufficient encouragement to free emigration; that it imposed unnecessary restrictions on sirdari recruiting; that it failed to provide for the enforcement of contracts made otherwise than under its provisions; that it did not afford efficient remedies to employers against unlawful absence, idleness, or desertion.

The changes proposed in connexion with these points are thus described in the Statement of Objects and Reasons.

“With regard to the first of these points, no labour-contracts can be entered into under the existing law (Bengal Act VII of 1873), after the emigrant has arrived in a labour-district; and further under section 7 of the same Act, no contract to labour in a labour-district for more than one year is binding upon an emigrant, unless it is made and executed according to the provisions of the Act,

To remove these restrictions the Bill permits emigrants to make labour-contracts under its provisions after their arrival in a labour-district, and by omitting any provision of the nature of section 7 of Bengal Act VII of 1873 enables employers to make with any persons, whether within or without the labour-districts, any labour-contracts which the ordinary law will recognize and enforce.

As to the second point, under the present law, a garden-sardār is compelled to present himself at the Court of the Magistrate of the District where he proposes to engage labourers, that he may get his certificate countersigned; his certificate is only allowed to run for six months; he is not allowed to travel with another garden-sardār if the total number of their united bands of emigrants exceeds twenty; whilst if he recruits more than twenty emigrants himself, he must take them to a contractor's depôt. Such restrictions, besides unnecessarily impeding the garden-sardār in his operations, bring him into dangerous connection with contractors and recruiters, who not unfrequently tempt him to make over to them for a consideration labourers recruited at his employer's expense. The Bill severs all connection between garden-sardārs' and contractors' depôts; and, though providing, in the employer's interest, for the effective control of garden-sardārs when on recruiting duty, removes the restrictions above mentioned, and gives the widest scope to the working of the sardāri system.

With respect to the third point, labour-contracts cannot be made under Bengal Act VII of 1873 in a labour-district. Consequently labour-contracts entered into in such districts must be made under the ordinary law. Though Act XIII of 1859 has in some districts been applied to these locally made labour-contracts, its provisions were obviously never intended to meet such cases. As employers may incur serious loss in the event of their labourers refusing to fulfil their contracts, it is clear that they are insufficiently protected under the present law in respect of locally made labour-contracts. Nothing short of a penal labour law is sufficient for their protection. At the same time it appears only just that, if a labourer is to be subjected to a penal labour law, he should obtain also the protection of law in respect of his general relations with his employer. Under these circumstances it seems preferable, instead of providing that locally made contracts may be enforced under the Act, to remove the restrictions which at present exist against labour-contracts under the Act being made in labour-districts, and this the Bill accordingly does.

As to the fourth point, under the existing law the penalty prescribed for the unlawful absence of the labourer from his work

can only be enforced by complaint before a Magistrate. Such a provision is obviously very inconvenient to employers, who cannot spare time to make a journey to Court every time one of their labourers is unlawfully absent from his work. The Bill therefore provides for a system of monthly lists of defaulters to be submitted by the employer to the inspector, who will, on his next visit to the garden, enquire into the case of each defaulter mentioned in such list, and, if satisfied that the labourer is guilty of the offence charged, punish him by entering such days of absence on his contract, and adding them to the term thereof, unless the labourer consents to forfeit to his employer the sum of four annas for each such day of absence. Prolonged and repeated absence may, however, be still punished by a Magistrate if the employer chooses to complain."

"The Government of India," continues the Statement, "have resolved to make no change in the provisions of the existing law as to desertion, and the proposals of the Commission with regard to these provisions have not therefore been adopted in the Bill.

It must also be noticed that the Bill extends the term for which labourer may contract to labour. Under the present law the term is limited to three years from the date of the arrival of the labourer on his employer's estate. It is now proposed to extend it to five years from the date of the execution of the contract. This extension will enable the employer to recoup himself for his preliminary outlay incurred in importing the labourer and maintaining him while he learns his work and becomes acclimatized. At the same time provision has been made in the interest of the labourer that, for the last two years of the term, he shall receive an increase of one rupee per mensem to his wages. At the end of three years he is presumably better acquainted with his work, more valuable to his employer, and therefore entitled to a higher rate of wages.

The Statement then proceeds to notice certain other points in which the suggestions of the Commission have been rejected, or modified. Under the draft Bill, "sections 24 and 63, labourers engaged in districts not under the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal need not, when recruited by garden-sardars, and cannot, when recruited by recruiters, be registered until they are brought within a district of the Lower Provinces. The Government of India is of opinion that it is necessary for the purpose of protecting the labourer and preventing fraudulent practice on the part of the garden-sardar or recruiter, that all labourers in whose case the registration of the engagement before proceeding to the labour-districts is imperative, should be registered in

the districts in which they are engaged. The provisions of the draft have accordingly been modified so as to carry out these views.

Again, the draft of the Commission permitted the transport to the labour-districts of labourers, whether engaged by garden-sardárs or recruiters, by any route. As it is known that on certain routes great mortality has occurred, it seems advisable that power should be taken to enable the Local Government to prescribe the routes by which only labourers may travel to the labour-districts. A power of this nature has therefore been inserted in the Bill.

Lastly, under the draft of the Commission, it is not necessary that contracts of locally engaged labourers should always be registered before a Magistrate or other officer. The Government of India is, however, of opinion that, unless such registration is made compulsory in all cases, there is not sufficient security that the nature of engagement shall be fully understood by the labourer. The provisions of the draft have therefore been so altered in the Bill, that it will be necessary to have all contracts of locally engaged labourers executed before and registered by an Inspector of labourers or Magistrate.

In the case of certain offences the Commission proposed that a penalty of rigorous imprisonment should be inflicted. It is considered that the Magistrates should be allowed a discretion as to the infliction of rigorous or simple imprisonment, and the Bill therefore substitutes the expression 'imprisonment,' which means imprisonment either simple or rigorous, in the places where, in the draft prepared by the Commission the expression, 'rigorous imprisonment' is used."

The second and last of these modifications strike us as being improvements on the draft Bill; but the first and third do not appear to be justified by the circumstances, and are likely to prove sources of serious inconvenience to all concerned.

The vacant Governorship of Madras has been conferred on Mr. Grant Duff, who is expected to leave England for the purpose of taking up his appointment early in October.

*The 14th September 1881.*

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## POSTSCRIPT.

THINGS before Kandahar remained in the state above described till the 20th instant, when the Amir shifted his position to Karez-niko, a movement to which Ayub responded by occupying old Kandahar and the villages between it and the new city.

On the morning of the 22nd, certain movements of the Amir brought a portion of his force within range of Ayub's guns, which opened a heavy fire on them, and a general engagement, in which the Amir seems to have assumed the offensive, followed. For some hours the fighting appears to have been of a desultory and half-hearted description; but about noon two Kabuli regiments, forming part of Ayub's army, and posted in the rear, treacherously fired into the Ghazis and Irregulars in front of them, causing a panic which ended in the breaking up and flight of the entire force.

Both sides seem to have been pretty evenly matched as regards numbers, each having 15,000 or 16,000 men, while the advantage in guns was slightly on the side of the Amir. The whole of Ayub's guns and baggage fell into the hands of the victors, who shortly after occupied Kandahar. Ayub himself made good his retreat by the Baba Wali Kotal. There was no pursuit, and the loss on either side was insignificant.

*The 28th September 1881.*

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## CRITICAL NOTICES.

### GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Hindu Philosophy. The Sankhya Karika of Iswara Krishna : An Exposition of the System of Kapila, with an Appendix on the Nyaya and Vaisesika Systems.* By John Davies, M. A. (Cantab), Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London : Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1881.

**M**OST students of the Vedanta will probably feel inclined to demur to the view implied in Mr. Davies' title, and explicitly stated by him in his preface, that almost the whole of Hindu philosophy proper is comprised in the Sankhya system of Kapila. That that system occupies a most important position in Hindu philosophy, may be admitted, but the Vedantic system, in spite of its appeal to authority, is none the less entitled to rank with it. The two are in fact mutually antagonistic; the Sankhya maintaining that matter is real and eternal, the Vedanta that it is illusory and evanescent; the Sankhya that soul exists separately from matter and is many, the Vedanta that soul is the only real existence and is one, while, again, though both are pessimistic and both regard deliverance from evil as the great end of right effort, the Sankhya sees that deliverance in the liberation of the soul from all connexion with matter, the Vedanta in its emancipation from the illusion of individual existence by re-integration in the one all-pervading soul of which it is a portion. Of the several expositions of the Sankhya philosophy, that by Iswara Krishna is believed to be the oldest and most trustworthy. It has been translated by Colebrooke, Lassen, and others, and the present work consists of an independent translation by Mr. Davies with a very copious and learned commentary, to which is added a supplementary notice of the Nyaya and Vaisesika systems of logic and physics.

For a complete view of the Sankhya philosophy, we must refer the reader to the work itself, which deals with the subject exhaustively and critically, and is a most valuable contribution to the history of human thought.

*Indian Poetry*: Containing a new Edition of "The Indian Song of Songs," from the Sanskrit of the Gita Govinda of Jayadeva; two Books from "The Iliad of India" (Mahābhārata); "Proverbial Wisdom," from the Shlokas of the Hitopadesa, and other Oriental Poems. By Edwin Arnold, M.A., London. Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1881.

THE reputation which Mr. Arnold had already earned by his poetical narrative of the life of Buddha, is more than sustained by the charming version he has here given us of the "Song of Songs." The strong lyrical element that pervades this most passionate of poems finds in him at once a sympathetic and a faithful interpreter. With the deeper spiritual meaning which Jayadeva himself bids us see in the story of Krishna's error and repentance, the general reader will probably not trouble himself much. Read literally, it is one of the most perfect of idylls, appealing in almost every line to every human heart, and, in spite of its voluptuousness, pregnant with moral wisdom. Though all impressionable minds must derive pleasure from the "Song of Songs," we doubt whether an intimate acquaintance, not only with Indian modes of thought, but with Indian rural life and its surroundings, is not essential to a full appreciation of it:—

"And all as if—far wandered  
The traveller should hear  
The bird of home, the Koil,  
With nest-notes rich and clear;  
And there should come one moment  
A blessed, fleeting dream  
Of the bees among the mangoes  
Beside his native stream;  
So flash those sudden yearnings,  
That sense of a dearer thing,  
The love and lack of Radha,  
Upon his soul in Spring."

Even such a passage as the above, exquisitely simple as it is in both language and sentiment, must lose something of its force to those who have neither heard the cuckoo of the Indian plains nor seen a mango grove; and "the soft-awakening spring time," "the sunny spring-time," "the languorous spring-time," when "it's hard to live alone," will be almost meaningless to those who have not felt the influence of the first warm breeze of the Indian spring, a season which affects the feelings not only differently, but in some respects in an opposite way to the first spring-day in a Northern climate. The "Song of Songs" abounds with testimony to that intimate sympathy with Nature in its softer and homelier aspects which, little as most Englishmen may

suspect it, is a marked characteristic of the Hindu mind, and which is yet quite compatible with a lack of the sense of the "picturesque" in the modern sense, or even of an eye for extended landscape.

There is one defect in Mr. Arnold's book. From first to last it contains scarcely a single note, though much of the imagery in the text must be absolutely meaningless to the uninitiated.

The most important of the remaining translations in the volume is that of the seventeenth and eighteenth books of the Mahābhārata, "The Book of the Great Journey," and the "Book of the Entry into Heaven," the former containing one of the noblest episodes in the great epic, the refusal of Yudhishthira to enter Paradise, except on the condition that his faithful dog is allowed to accompany him. This translation is prefaced by a short account of the Mahābhārata, and a summary of the plot of the poem.

The following passage, containing the colloquy between Yudhishthira and Indra in connexion with the episode just referred to, will serve to convey an idea of the manner in which the translator has done his work :—

"But the king answered : 'O thou Wisest One,  
Who know'st what was, and is, and is to be,  
Still one more grace ! This hound hath ate with me,  
Followed me, loved me : must I leave him now ?'

"'Monarch,' spake Indra, 'thou art now as We,—  
Deathless, divine ; thou art become a god ;  
Glory and power and gifts celestial,  
And all the joys of heaven are thine for aye :  
What hath a beast with these ? Leave here thy hound.'

"Yet Yudhishthira answered : 'O Most High,  
O Thousand-eyed and Wisest ! can it be  
That one exalted should seem pitiless ?  
Nay, let me lose such glory : for its sake  
I would not leave one living thing I loved.'

"Then sternly Indra spake : 'He is unclean,  
And into Swarga such shall enter not.  
The Krodhavasha's hand destroys the fruits  
Of sacrifice, if dogs defile the fire.  
Bethink thee, Dharmaraj, quit now this beast !  
'That which is seemly is not hard of heart.'

"Still he replied : 'Tis written that to spurn  
A suppliant equals in offence to slay  
A twice-born ; wherefore, not for Swarga's bliss  
Quit I, Mahendra, this poor clinging dog,—  
So without any hope of friend save me,  
So wistful, fawning for my faithfulness,  
So agonised to die, unless I help,  
Who among men was called steadfast and just.'

"Quoth Indra : 'Nay ! the altar-flame is foul  
 Where a dog passeth ; angry angels sweep  
 The ascending smoke aside, and all the fruits  
 Of offering, and the merit of the prayer  
 Of him whom a hound toucheth. Leave it here !  
 He that will enter heaven must enter pure.  
 Why didst thou quit thy brethren on the way,  
 And Krishna, and the dear-loved Draupadi,  
 Attaining, firm and glorious, to this Mount  
 Through perfect deeds, to linger for a brute ?  
 Hath Yudhishtira vanquished self, to melt  
 With one poor passion at the Door of bliss ?  
 Stay'st thou for this, who didst not stay for them,—  
 Draupadi, Bhima ?',

"But the king yet spake  
 'Tis known that none can hurt or help the dead.  
 They, the delightful ones, who sank and died,  
 Following my footsteps, could not live again,  
 Though I had turned,—therefore I did not turn ;  
 But could help profit, I had turned to help.  
 There be four sins, O Sakra, grievous sins :  
 The first is making suppliants despair,  
 The second is to slay a nursing wife,  
 The third is spoiling Brahmans' goods by force,  
 The fourth is injuring an ancient friend.  
 These four I deem but equal to one sin,  
 If one, in coming forth from woe to weal,  
 Abandon any meanest comrade then.'  
 "Straight as he spake, brightly great Indra smiled ;  
 Vanished the hound, and in its stead stood there  
 The Lord of Death and Justice, Dharma's self !"

*Mani-Mâlâ, or a Treatise on Gems.* By Sourindro Mohun Tagore, Mus. Doc., Knight-Commander of the Order of Leopold of Belgium ; Knight Commander of the 1st Class of the Order of Albert of Saxony ; Chevalier of the Imperial Order of Medjidie of Turkey, etc., etc., Calcutta : Printed by I. C. Bose and Co., Stanhope Press, 249, Bowbazar Street, and published by the Author, 1879.

THE greater part of this elaborate work being written in four languages, Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali and English, we might perhaps have included it under the head of Vernacular Literature ; but a considerable section of it being given in English only, it may be appropriately noticed in this place.

The learned author has compiled with great labour and research a very copious account of the history, properties, uses, and commercial value of the precious stones, and minor gems, not only according to European authorities, but as laid down in the Puranas, and other sacred works of the Hindus, and by Arabic

and Persian writers, together with briefer notices of the views held regarding them by the modern Hindusthani jewellers, and in Nepal, Burmah and Siam, China and Japan, Afghanistan, Egypt, America, Polynesia, Australia, Malacca and Ceylon. To these he has appended analyses of the precious stones, and, among much other curious information, a very complete bibliography of the subject. Much of this information is rather curious than practical, dealing, as it does, with the occult properties of gems, but it will be new to most English readers, though similar superstitions regarding some precious stones still survive in the minds of the ignorant in Europe. It may safely be said that so much information from such various quarters on this fascinating subject has never been brought together before.

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*The Gulistan: or Rose Garden, of Shekh Mushku 'd-din Sádi, of Shiráz. Translated for the first time into Prose and Verse, with an Introductory Preface, and a Life of the Author, from the Atish Kadah. By Edward B. Eastwick, C. B., M. A., F. R. S., M. R. A. S., etc, Second Edition. London, Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1880.*

THE first edition of Mr. Eastwick's translation of the Gulistan of Sádi was an expensive work; the second is published, as one of Trübner's Oriental Series, at a price which places it within the reach of most students. Of the translation itself, at this date, there is little necessity to speak. Suffice it to say that, in the thirty years that have elapsed since it was first published, it has not been superseded. The prose portion, indeed, could hardly be improved upon, and though the verse might be rendered more attractive to the general reader, it would only be by a sacrifice of literalness. Mr. Eastwick has, however, been remarkably successful, even here, in combining correct and smooth versification and a natural diction with great truth to the original.

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*Anglo-Indians and Eurasians. By S. F. Heron, Simla: Printed by Churn Dass at the Station Press, 1881.*

THIS is a well-intentioned pamphlet on a question which the author evidently has at heart; but it contains nothing true that has not been often and better said before, while the English in which it is written is so defective as to be sometimes barely intelligible. Its vices of style are, however, surpassed by its vices of taste, and by a lamentable want of the very

forbearance and charity for which the writer pleads on behalf of Eurasians. As a justification of the tendency of this class to withdraw themselves from contact with the natives of the country, he tells us that "however great a *parvenu* or *curmudgeon* a man may be, in the estimation of natives, he will never lose character or respect, so long as he is enabled by either of these admittedly desirable possessions to exercise some power, or make a display of some kind."

Advocacy of this kind can only do harm to the cause it is intended to advance; and the same may be said of the following wonderful passage, put forward in support of the writer's opinion that, unless treated with more consideration, the Eurasians are certain, by and by, to be a trouble and a standing menace to the country:—

"It is just possible that a statement of this kind may be considered *quixotic*, and for such of my readers who (*sic*) are of that opinion, I may mention that I have a vivid recollection of reading in one of the histories of the Sepoy revolt, that white men were found on the side of the rebels. The author expressed much surprise and indignation at such a spectacle, observing that he would have thought that the sympathies of these men would have been with the race to which they belonged, or from whom they descended. But, for aught we know, the treatment they received may have been of an inconsiderate and cruel character, enough to obliterate that very feeling of sympathy, which it is the duty of Government to suffer to remain green in the hearts of its British-born subjects. Although the case of American independence may not be applicable to India, it should not be forgotten that there are men in this country with British pluck and enterprise who, in a combination with natives, could do incalculable mischief. What may be thought *Utopian* now may, in after years, wear a very different complexion."

As a specimen of the hopelessly confused character of the writer's style and of his eccentric misuse of words, the following is about as good a passage as we could select:—

Eurasians, as the word implies, are of mixed descent from natives of Europe and Asia, and are of various sorts. The word, however, is of wide significance, as in it is imported, in addition to Asia, the idea not only of the United Kingdom, but of Germany, France, Spain, and other European nationalities. Among persons with no Continental blood, the word is understood to be equivocal, and is not popular. East Indian, again, may very properly be applied exclusively to natives. Anglo-Indian is the appellation preferred, as being most distinctive in tracing the races of both the British islands and India. But this word is by common consent applied to persons of pure British descent, by whom a freedom with it might possibly be resented. To ethnographers, therefore, it would appear to be an interesting occupation to search after, and arrive at, such a word to represent

the mixed races of this country as would be both *intelligent* and acceptable. But the subject is much too complicated, and *diffuse* for even the most thoughtful labour to be attended with success. However, some Eurasians have a *monopoly* of English blood in their veins, and these in colour are very like Englishmen; others, again, are not one remove from natives, for, with marriages and intermarriages with Native Christian and Portuguese families, the Asiatic blood has been made to predominate, and they have very little, if any at all, of the European left in them.

The quality of his logic has already received incidental illustration. Here, however, is an exhibition of it which it would be difficult to surpass:—

I think it was Sir Charles Dilke in his book descriptive of his tour through India, who was made so say, that "Eurasians possess the vices of both races, and the virtues of neither." *Id est audi alteram partem.* If he had possessed the prescience to foresee the loathsome disclosures of a case like Bolton, Park, and Lord Clinton, it is not too much to say that he would have hesitated to publish such a libel.

One more quotation, and we have done:—

Not many years ago in the district of Agra there was a European child carried away by a she-wolf, and, strange to say, *instead of killing the child, it was taken away to its lair*, and brought up by the wolf with her cubs.

*The Story of Philosophy.* By Aston Leigh, London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1881.

THIS is in its way an admirable little book. That is, having set before him the task of inditing a popular account of Greek philosophy and its professors, the author has succeeded not only in imparting to his work that attractiveness of manner that was essential to the accomplishment of his object, but in making it as full and exact as was compatible therewith.

No exegesis of a great philosophical system can be at once complete and intelligible to ordinary readers. To give such readers a distinct idea of the salient points of each system without being seriously misleading, is the most that the ablest expositor can hope to accomplish; and this Mr. Leigh may be fairly said to have done. The work is largely biographical, including in that term the delineation of not only the lives, but the surroundings, of the persons dealt with. It is upon this element of the story that the author has had mainly to depend for his hold on the attention of the majority of the class he is addressing; and to this fact we probably owe the lively and imaginative style that he has adopted. He has, in fact, availed himself to some extent of the license which belongs to fiction; though he has not gone further in this way than many professed biographers—M. Renan, for instance, in his life



of Christ. The following passage from the part of the work devoted to Socrates, will fairly illustrate what we mean :—

Before you rises "a rocky hill ; white lines gird its rugged sides, one of which is so broken as to be almost a precipice. . . . That which at first sight looks like a glistening crown set lightly on the sombre mass, is a marble temple standing out in sharp relief against the clear blue sky. . .

The dazzling sunshine upon the grey-green slopes around this hill makes you shade your watering eyes with your hand. Then you see that the white lines you took to be strata of chalk are buildings, seemingly built into the very rock itself ; that streets of these stony edifices lie in irregular lines about the plain ; that the groves of ash-grey olives lie close against marble temples ; that the tiny moving specks upon the white roads are not illusion, but real moving figures.

As you walk onwards towards the city, you skirt the hill, and come "upon its sloping and accessible" side. Here the marble buildings abound, and you begin to distinguish colossal statues standing loftily upon their massive pedestals.

There is a certain bustle and activity. . . . Drays drawn by thin oxen bear huge masses of stone lumberingly along the hard white roads. Sheds and huts by the roadside are flanked by piles of stones, slabs and boulders. The sharp clink of the hammer, the chip, chip, of the busy chisel, is to be heard far and near. The very dust that the warm breezes—those same breaths of summer air which fanned your cheek and toyed with your hair as they brought you warm spicy odours—are playing with in the corners is powdered marble. The children are making houses with discarded glittering lumps . . . brown little barefoot creatures, their shaggy locks grey with dust. They cry out to each other in a monotonous but musical chant as they run here and there picking up their building-materials. Then you meet a dark, bearded man with a yoke on his shoulders, from which curiously shaped earthen pots are slung. He wears a loose, coarse garment, and is barefoot. . . He is a honey-carrier from Mount Hymettus, whose blue summit you can see rising beyond that terraced hill. This dray coming heavily along is laden with the pure white stone from the Hymettus quarries. The girl who wears her loose robe with a certain grace, who supports her basket with one arm, while the other rests lightly on one of the shafts, is a flower-girl. She and the dark-browed, sullen-faced driver, who paces by the oxen, now and then exclaiming to them in a sing-song which seems all diphthongs and soft consonants, seem to be friends. At all events, she keeps up a monotonous chatter as they proceed. More building sheds, more busy masons. . . . Why all this building ?

You look at the landscape more closely, and see that many of the large edifices have been injured, and that some are almost ruins. The stone-masons and statuary have enough to do, for proud Athens in the year 440 before Christ declined to be a city wrecked by her enemies ; and when disaster came to her, she renewed her plumage, and was a veritable phoenix until her very life-blood had been sucked out by her vampire foes.

This is Athens. . . . The many-pillared edifice crowning the rocky hill is the Parthenon, the temple of Venus ; the mound itself, which you rightly guess to be some 500 feet high, is the Acropolis. The pillared portico yonder is the entrance to the theatre. . . .

That quadrangle, where a number of little brown-limbed youths are throwing themselves about—some wrestling, others trying their strength by the bar or lifting weights—is a *Palastra* or gymnasium for boys. . . . You can see robed figures standing about—they are the tutors, parents, and friends, watching the practice.

Those white dots surrounding the cypresses that flank the winding road yonder in even rows are tombs. The cemeteries proper lie outside the wall; but this is the road leading from the Dipylum Gate to the Academy, where it is a special honour to be buried, and where there are the graves of many heroes who fell fighting for their country. The white dots are their monuments.

Let your eye travel city wards along that road. You see a plot of ground separated from the olive groves and fields round about, planted with avenues of trees and intersected by shining little streams. . . . In its centre is a temple-like mansion. . . . It is the Academy, which you must visit in many succeeding pages, for there Plato passed the principal part of his teaching life.

The other side of the Acropolis are important buildings you will see in their turn. . . .

Now you must leave the main road, and turn into a narrow street of irregularly-built low houses. Some are little better than huts, seemingly built of lumps of rock piled one upon the other. In some ways these ancient Athenians were mere savages, while in others they were farther advanced than the Anglo-Saxons of to-day. While they wrought magnificent statues of carved ivory, coloured marbles, and gold, their actual physical wants were treated as we should treat a demand for superfluous luxuries. It was an afterthought to legislate for them, while it was possible to hide them under a veil of magnificent and luxurious misery.

These huts, with crooked doorways and unglazed apertures doing duty for windows, are not the holes and corners where indigent labourers hide themselves at night. They are respectable family dwellings.

There is one somewhat larger than the rest. Voices and the sound of the chisel are to be heard. A brawny, broad-shouldered youth, bared to the waist, is chipping away at a block of marble. As he stoops, you notice muscles twisting about his arms and against his shoulderblades like brown snakes. He does not stop working, though the young man in the purple robe, with gold embroidered border and tassels, is talking to him. This is Crito, a young man of property, who can afford to wear rings on his carefully-tended hands and to curl and perfume his hair and beard. His father and this young man's father, Sophroniscus, a sculptor who was scarcely successful, were friends. How can Crito, the "curled darling," affect the company of this rough young "stone-scraper," as he was afterwards sarcastically called by satirists? As he raises his round, massive head, you exclaim to yourself at his ugliness. His coarse, sunburnt face is broad and ill-moulded, his nose flat, with widespread nostrils, his eyes prominent, and looking out from under the shaggy eyebrows with a "bull-like" stolid stare—a stare which is always annoying when given by a human being, because it either means very much or nothing at all. In animals it expresses puzzled or unmeaning astonishment. In a fellow-creature it arises from utter stupidity, or is the dull surface of unfathomable mental depths.

In the case of the ugly young sculptor, it is the latter. For the chosen companion of the rich and elegant Crito is the son of Sophroniscus, the sculptor, and Philarete the midwife, and his name is Socrates.

He has been self-contained and puzzling since childhood. He accepted his father's choice of a profession placidly, and placidly he chipped away at the marble, as he worked away with his keen, strong mind the while at some problem he intended to solve. Traditions tell that he listened to and talked with Parmenides and Zeno. The probability is that he contrived to hear all and each of the chief men of the Academy at Athens.

Philosophy was then to the *blase* young men of Athens as a refreshing sea-breeze to a tropical traveller, as bread to a palate sickened of sweets. It revived their drooping minds, exhausted by debauchery. The young Socrates attracted and irritated simultaneously. He listened with respect to any one who chose to honour him with his conversation, seemed impressed by his opinions, and asked further questions. The first question exposed the weak points of the converser's statement, whatever it might be; the second overthrew the defence set up to protect the weak points; the remainder destroyed, the arguments attempted, until the one speaking to Socrates had mentally "not a leg left to stand upon."

This is so well done, that the most captious critic would hesitate to complain that much of the detail depends for its definiteness on a constructive effort of the writer's imagination.

The work is throughout equally pleasant and instructive. We say instructive, for after all we can have no definite idea of ancient Athens, or of Socrates, without a more or less extensive use of the imagination, and the majority, even, of well read persons, who might set about forming such a picture for themselves, would probably arrive at a much more erroneous result without Mr. Leigh's aid than with it.

With all the writer's reflections on the philosophic views he describes, we cannot agree, but this is the least important portion of a work which deserves to be widely read.

#### VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

*Dui Bhagni. (Upanyas).* By Dāmodar Mukhopādhyāya. Printed by Gopāl Chandra De, 14, Duff Street, Calcutta.

THIS is a novel. Kamalini and Binodini are two sisters. The former is a young and beautiful widow who has conceived an improper attachment for Jogendra, her sister's husband. But Jogendra and Binodini are a faithful couple, and Kamalini therefore finds it necessary to create in their minds distrust for each other. This she does with the assistance of a female servant, and when Jogendra is at Calcutta, away from his wife, reading for a medical examination. Jogendra leaves off his studies and goes home to kill his wife. The intrigue is, however, laid bare by an honest family tutor; but the discovery comes too late. For Binodini has already taken poison, and when Jogendra rushes into her room in the ecstasy of restored faith, she has barely time to ask for his forgiveness, and to pray God to forgive those who have sought to injure her.

We are sorry to say we cannot congratulate Babu Dāmodar Mukherji upon the story he has produced. His hero is a young Bengali boy who is still reading at school. Now we do not at all approve of the practice, which seems growing among Bengali

authors, of representing schoolboys, or young men not much different from schoolboys, as heroes of love stories. Such heroes are a demoralising, if not a positively unsightly, phenomenon, and their influence may be after all very injurious in a country where infant marriage is the rule. In the second place, a schoolboy acting the part of a lover cannot possibly secure the respectful attention which the hope of deriving instruction would be calculated to excite. Babu Dámodar's hero is a schoolboy—the veritable theatrical Bengali schoolboy of our time—and he accordingly strikes us as being full of fire, fury, and the speech-making impulse, by no means as a very instructive person. It is true, he hates sensuality; but we nowhere find his animal nature worked upon, and the defeat of Kamalini does not therefore impress us as a great victory on the part of Jogendra. As to the wicked Kamalini, she is, indeed, foiled; but that is a moral for which the story of an ugly female intriguer was not needed towards the close of the nineteenth century.

The author's manner is of a piece with his matter. His subject is a schoolboy as a lover, wholly unnatural, and his manner of treating that subject is also unnatural. He is always straining after effect; he is hideously rhetorical; he is designedly sentimental and rhapsodical. He is a very bad imitator of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji. “হাসিতে হাসিতে, হুলিতে হুলিতে, চন্দ্রমা আকাশ সমুদ্রে ভাসিতে ভাসিতে কে-জানে কোথায় যাইতেছে” and “সরস বসন্ত-বায়ু নাচিতে নাচিতে নাচাইতে নাচাইতে ছুটাছুটি করিতেছে” are oddities which Babu Bankim Chandra would be, we think, the first man to condemn.

Our verdict upon this work, though unfavorable, requires one word of explanation. In condemning Babu Dámodar's work we have considered only the highest excellence which might have been attained by him. There is, however, one word in his favor. He seems to know better than many other Bengali writers of fiction how a story may be told with effect, and he appears capable of expressing strong feelings. We have no doubt that he will do much better if he writes without endeavouring to reproduce a model. Imitation has never succeeded. Babu Dámodar should therefore write as he ought to write; and his writing would then be sure to command attention. He is really a promising author. Only let him not spoil himself by labouring to produce what only some body else can produce.

*Mahátmá Rájá Rámmohan Ráyer Jibancharít.* By Nagendra Náth Chattopádhyáya. Printed by Bipin Bihári Ráya at the Ráya Press, 17, Bhabáni Charan Datta's Lane, and published at the Ráya Press Depository, 14, College Square, Calcutta, 1287, B. S.

THIS work is significant in many ways. As a laboriously-collected memoir of a great Bengali by a Bengali scholar, it means the growth of a historic and patriotic spirit which Indians did not formerly possess, and which, as it develops, is sure to give a new tone and appearance to Indian society and to produce something like a literary revolution in both India and Europe. As a biographical work, fully deserving of that name, it means the replacement of that unreal, imaginative and credulous type of mind which filled Bengali book-shelves so far down as the year 1860 with stories of talking birds, moving trees, magic cars, benevolent and malevolent spirits, and all that reason and the senses refuse to believe, by a real and practical type of mind which prefers the human to the superhuman, the natural to the supernatural, the useful to the ornamental, the real to the unreal, the demonstrable to the marvellous and the hypothetical. And the pessimists, both Indian and European, who will not believe that the Hindu will ever become a practical man, may well be invited to take note of this remarkable contrast between two periods of Bengali literature separated by an interval of less than a quarter of a century. But if they, or others, who without being pessimists are sincere inquirers, desire to obtain further proof of the practical capacity of the Bengali mind, the best thing they can do is to study this man, this greatest of Bengalis, Rammohan Roy. For Rammohan Roy, though born of Ignorance, Bigotry, Superstition, Credulity, and, in short, of every thing that is opposed to the Real and the Practical, represented in feeling, thought and action everything that is opposed to ignorance, bigotry, superstition, credulity, the unreal and the unsubstantial. Born of this very spirit of superstitious unreality, Rammohan Roy was full of the spirit of enlightened practicalism. It would indeed be difficult to find an instance of an individual, either in ancient or in modern times, who overcame the influences of his birth and social surroundings in anything like the manner and to the extent that this remarkable Bengali did. The story of Rammohan's life forms one of the most wonderful chapters in the history of man. For, whereas other great men have been great in virtue partly of the age in which they were born, or of the age which preceded them, Rájá Rammohan Roy has been great wholly in spite and in defiance of the age in which he was born, and of the many, many ages of credulity, superstition, and human

negation which preceded it. And that story is well and effectively told. With a heart full of love and veneration for the great man, Babu Nagendra Náth Chatterji has laboured more than any preceding inquirer to build up a worthy memorial. The result is a biography which, though capable of enlargement (of which the author, by the way, has given us a kind assurance), is still decidedly the best work of its kind yet written in Bengali. The style of the work is hearty and eloquent.

*Mahátmá Rájá Rámmohan Ráya sambandhiya kshudra kshudra galpa.* By Nandamohan Chatterji. Printed and published by Bhola Nath Chakrabarti at the Barát Press, 12, Patárángá Street, Mirzápur, Calcutta, 1287, B.S.

THIS is a collection of anecdotes relating to Raja Rammohan Roy by one of his own descendants, and as such it possesses great value and interest. The anecdotes have reference to the entire career of the great reformer from his birth to his death. Anecdotes, it need hardly be stated, illustrate a man better than anything else; and the anecdotes brought together by Babu Nandamohan do not possess less than their acknowledged value. And inasmuch as Babu Nandamohan has brought forth some anecdotes which we have not found mentioned by any other writer or investigator, his collection ought to be thankfully accepted as a substantial contribution to the literature (both English and Vernacular) already existing on the subject of the life and labours of Rammohan Roy. Babu Nandamohan has increased the interest of his work by weaving out of his anecdotes a short and simple narrative of the *mind* of his eminent great-grandfather. He has done his duty to himself and to the public; and by his manner of doing it, which is simple, unpretentious and profoundly respectful, he has proved himself a worthy descendant of the great Raja.

*Udásin Satyasrabár Asám Bhraman.* Printed by B. M. Ghosh at the Sádharán Brahma Samaj Press, 93, College Street, and published by the Ráya Press Depository, 14, College Square, Calcutta.

THIS is the first book of travels in Bengali. It is written by a Bengali gentleman who calls himself an *Udásin* or *religious mendicant*. The author has travelled thrice in Assam—travelled for the pleasure of travelling—and recorded in these pages an account of what he has seen and heard in that province. That account, we are glad to say, is in the highest degree valuable

and interesting. It embraces matters of interest of all kinds—domestic, social, religious, educational, historical, antiquarian, political, agricultural, commercial, ethnological, &c. The traveller has evidently *studied* Assam in all its aspects, and *studied* it as it had been, as it now is, as it may yet, be. He is minute but not trivial; he is graphic but not sensational; he is circumstantial but not inaccurate or conjectural. He describes rivers, mountains, hills, plains, meadows, fields, roads, travellers' bungalows, temples, houses, men, women, children, birds, beasts, reptiles, towns, villages, schools, dispensaries, ruined temples, palaces and forts, tea gardens, coolies, everything, in fact, that is calculated to excite the reader's interest. His descriptions are thoroughly sober and practical; full of details carefully ascertained, and beautifully concise. His style and manner are manly and straightforward. His book is as attractive reading as a work of fiction. He is a lover of nature, a lover of his species, a lover of every good thing. He is an intelligent observer and an impartial thinker. Experience has evidently made him sober and secrete. Speaking of female morality in Assam, of which Bengalis have always entertained a very low opinion, he says:—

"Most people think badly of the women of Assam. I have travelled thrice in Assam, and all that I have learnt by this long experience is that the women of this province are comparatively independent, and marriage rules are not very strict among the lower classes. Consequently low-class women do now and then change husbands. The state of independence in which the women live prevents them from concealing their weaknesses, and the existence of the custom of divorce leads to the discovery of many cases of separation between husband and wife. There are many who for these reasons assail the character of Assamese women; but I cannot agree with them. I have travelled in many places, and what I have been able to learn concerning human nature is to the effect that it is nearly the same in all places. The only difference is, that some countries are not hidden by the veil which civilisation throws over some others. The women of this province are able-bodied, and braver, and more intelligent than the men."

The author thus compares Bengalis with the people of Assam:—

"Many may think that the people of Assam are not so shrewd and intelligent as Bengalis; but I do not admit that. I have, after travelling in Assam, clearly understood that the respectable classes of Assamese are not at all inferior to Bengalis either in intelligence or in shrewdness. English education began in this province 40 years after it began in Bengal, and this accounts for the greater progress which Bengalis have been able to make. The educated youth of Assam are very fond of imitation; and

most of them imitate Englishmen in the matter of food and dress. The people of this province live longer and are healthier than Bengalis; but the use of opium has rendered the low-class people very indolent."

But it would serve no useful purpose to place before the reader a few brief extracts from a work which ought to be read from the beginning to the end. It is a work teeming with facts laboriously ascertained, and which may be studied with advantage by Indian administrators and the students of Indian history and antiquities. For gentlemen intending to visit Assam, its value cannot be exaggerated. Such a work, by a Bengali gentleman is almost a phenomenon, which clearly indicates the commencement of a new era in the life of the Bengali people. We should like to see this work translated into English. Its literary merits are as striking as its other excellences.

*Jagannáth Tarakapanchánan Jiban Britá.* By the late Umá Charan Bhattácháryya. Printed by Nandalál Basu at the Sádharáni Press, Chinsurah, 1880 A. D.

THE object of this work is stated to be to publish anecdotes relating to the great Hindu lawyer which previous biographers have not described, and which he, as a lineal descendant of Jagannáth, has had exceptional opportunities of collecting. Jagannáth Tarakapanchánan is a well-known name in Hindu law. He wrote a learned treatise on Hindu law called the *Viváda Bhagárnava*, which is better known in its English form under the name of Colebrooke's *Digest*. As a lawyer and scholar, Jagannáth was a leviathan of his time. The memoir constructed in this volume with a number of anecdotes is interesting for many reasons. In the first place, it relates to an orthodox Hindu pandit who had a mind and a body equally gigantic. In the second place, it relates to a period in the history of Bengal in which the pandit of the *tole* was a social figure of even greater importance than Rajas and semi-independent zemindars. In the third place, it shows us a Sanskrit scholar successfully acting the part of a political intriguer at the court of Murshidabad. Lastly, it gives us one or two curious peeps into the first years of the East India Company's rule in Bengal. We cannot, within our brief limits, present the reader with a full-sized portrait of Jagannáth. We shall, therefore, conclude this notice with a short extract, in which the great pandit is found speaking as a rational student of Hindu polytheism. An anxious religious inquirer having asked him to explain how polytheism could be reconciled



with the doctrine of the unity of the Godhead, he spoke as follows :—

“The *sāstras* are not false. Suppose a band of *jātrāvallās* come to your house, and their headman, pleading want of scenic apparatus, asks you to furnish him, when he wants to represent a particular character, with exactly the dress and other articles which would be required by him to personate *that* character ; and you agree. The performance begins, and the headman wants to personate the sage Nārada. But instead of supplying him with white clothes, white hair for the beard, a pair of white moustaches, long-matted hair for the head, and a lyre, you give him a pair of bangles, anklets for the leg, and a silk *saree* ; and when he wants to personate Jasodā, you give him what you should have given him when he wanted to personate Nārada. It is the same head-singer in the two cases ; but would he be pleased or displeased with you ? [Inquirer—“displeased.”] [Jagannāth continues]—The *sāstras* say precisely the same thing. For your own satisfaction, you are representing God in various shapes as if He were an actor. Give Him the shape which would suit Him best for any particular purpose, or He will be displeased. If you seek to represent Him as Shiva, ashes, *bel* leaves, *datūra* flowers, &c., will serve Him best. If you seek to represent Him as Krishna, the *tulasī* garland, cream, curd and cheese will serve Him best. If you seek to represent Him as Kālī, red sandal-ointment, the *jubā* flower, and flesh-meat will serve Him best. The *sāstras* only instruct you to do this. Consequently, they are not false.”

Works like the one under notice are really useful and interesting. We have, therefore, much pleasure to recommend to our readers this memoir of a great Hindu lawyer.

*Bhārat-mahilā*. By Hara Prasād Sāstri, M. A. Printed by Rādhānāth Bandyopādhyāya at the Bangadarsan Press, Kāntālpārā, and published at the Sanskrit Press Depository, Calcutta, 1287, B. S.

WE learn that the Maharaja Holkar, in one of his recent visits to Calcutta, inspected the Sanskrit College and offered a prize of Rs. 200 for the best paper on “The Highest Ideal of Female Characters as set forth in early Sanskrit works.” The competition was confined to the students of the Sanskrit College, and Mr. Hara Prasād Sāstri, author of the publication under notice, obtained the promised reward. We feel no hesitation in saying that Mr. Hara Prasād’s work deserved a much more substantial reward than the paltry sum of Rs. 200 which

he has received as his consideration for writing it. His treatment of the subject of ancient Hindu women, as described in Sanskrit literature in its numerous branches, is a masterly one, and challenges admiration. For clearness of exposition, correct classification, and appropriate division of the subject into parts, the performance is all that could be desired. Mr. Hara Prasád has ransacked the Purans, the Smritis, the epics, the narrative poems, the dramas, the works of fiction, all that needed to be consulted, in order to bring together all that ancient Hindus have thought and said concerning the duties, obligations, and virtues of the sex. The information he has collected is really vast and valuable, and derives additional interest from the beauty and logical accuracy of the method in which he has presented it. The female ideal, as contained in the Smritis, Purans, poems and dramas, is divided by him into certain types or classes marked by different mental characteristics, and its value and importance are tested by comparison with the female ideal in other parts of the world. In completing his picture of the ideal Hindu woman, there is not a point of interest, it strikes us, however small or minute, which has been omitted by Mr. Sástri. Mr. Sástri's work is, in fact, an excellent monograph on a subject of surpassing interest, written with the ease, ability, erudition and intelligence of a master. There is much in Sanskrit literature which deserves careful study in all parts of the world ; but there are, for obvious reasons, few who have the time and resources that would be needed to make them Sanskrit scholars. The best interests of mankind demand, therefore, that scholars like Mr. Hara Prasád Sástri gather from the gigantic mass of Sanskrit literature valuable monographs like the one under notice on subjects bearing upon men's nearest concerns. And we are further of opinion that such monographs, if prepared by Indian scholars, would be better representatives of ancient Hindu thought and feeling than monographs written by European Orientalists. For those who would form a correct idea of the position of women among Hindus, Mr. Sástri's work possesses great value. It is curious to note that the men who are denounced in Europe and even in this country as having been cruel and cowardly oppressors of the sex in ancient India were the men who thought most grandly of woman and spoke of her in a tone of sweetest sympathy. We would strongly recommend the translation of Mr. Sástri's admirable essay into English in order that Englishmen may get an opportunity of understanding and appreciating the ancient Hindus and may judge for themselves that English education and English example, so much decried by interested religious propagandists, are at least converting a race of

idle story-tellers into a race of industrious scholars and useful literary workers.

*Nirjharini (gitikābya), Pratham Khanda.* By Debendra Náth Sen. Printed at the Iswar Chandra Basu and Company's Stanhope Press, 249, Bowbazar, Calcutta, and published by the Author at Gházipur, 1287, B. S.

IN the last number of this *Review* we had the pleasure to notice in terms of praise another poem by Babu Debendra Náth Sen, entitled *Phulabálá*. We are sorry to say we cannot speak of his new work *Nirjharini* in terms of equal praise. It consists of a number of lyrical poems; but their subjects, we are sorry to say, are, with a few exceptions, of the stock kind used by writers of such pieces. Widowhood, zenána seclusion, and other social customs and institutions are not, as Bengali poets seem to think, fit subjects for poetry. And although they have been impressed into the Muse's service times without number, the last poet that has written about them has not said anything which the first did not say. Love pieces of the kind met with in this work are also wanting in depth and are vapid and verbose after a fashion. Babu Debendra Náth writes better about flowers than about anything else, and we would therefore advise him to study what he seems to love best with undivided attention and to give us the result of his deepest meditations at long intervals. It is not good to publish poems with lightning rapidity, or to write a poem except upon impulse profoundly stirring and deeply felt. Babu Debendra Náth should go on studying flowers in the light of science, in the light of mythology, in the light of the sky above and the earth below, in any other light that may break in upon him; and when he feels that he cannot contain their voice, then and only then should he communicate that voice to those who know not how to listen to it, or to make out what it means. The piece entitled "*Udasini*" is good. That entitled "*Jabá Kusum*" is also good. It opens with the stanza marked A, and closes with the stanza marked B.

A.

“গৌথ না আমার লাগি চম্পকের হার,

তাঁহা পরিব না গলে;

আমার হৃদয় কাঁপা, তারোপরে কেন টাঁপা

চাপাইবে! কাঁপা লয়ে কি কাজ আমার?

আমি পরিবনা চম্পকের হার।

B.

রক্তিম জবার মালা তখন ন'খিও  
নয়ন সলিল পূর্ণ :  
আমারে তুলিয়ে খাটে, যাইবে ত্রিবেণীঘাটে,  
শুভ লুপ্তে শুভক্ষেণে গলে মোর দিও,  
সই, আপনার সাধ মিটাইও ।

These two stanzas show that Babu Debendra Nāth would do better as a painter of flowers than of anything else. And if he can paint flowers well and effectively, he should not regret that he has not painted anything else. Great masters of art do not do miscellaneous work. True merit consists not in doing many things, as Bengali poets seem to think, but in doing one thing in a masterly style. There was never a great poetical fame that rested upon the performance of miscellaneous work.

*Sanskrit Philosophers on the Vedas.* By Prasanna Kumār Bidyāratna, Translator of Manu-saṁhitā. Printed by Rāj-krishṇa Sinha at the Berhampore Dhanasindhu Press, and published by Prasanna Kumār Bidyāratna, 1288, B. S.

IT is the object of this treatise to explain the different views which were entertained by the authors of the six great philosophical systems of India concerning the authority and importance of the Vedas. The subject has not much practical value for us, though its importance from the point of view of the student of Hindu philosophy and theology cannot be denied. But the work under notice, besides dealing with the main question, gives a brief general view of the philosophical systems. We wish, however, that the author had said more about those systems than he has done, and stated what he had to say in clearer language. The peculiar philosophical vocabulary of India is a source of difficulty to all but the most accomplished Sanskrit scholars, desirous of entering into the meaning and spirit of the systems of philosophy. This difficulty, we are sorry to observe, Pandit Prasanna Kumār has done nothing to remove. He deals largely in Sanskrit philosophical terms, and his exposition of doctrines, which is obscure on account of its brevity, has been rendered doubly unintelligible by his adoption of a technical phraseology. We trust Pandit Prasanna Kumār will take these remarks in a friendly spirit and shape future editions of his work according to the popular requirements of the time. He is a competent scholar, and we only hope that he will look upon his really interesting work as barely commenced and not finished. The get-up of the book is very bad.

*Madirâ* By Bhubaneswar Mitra. Printed and published by Kshetra Mohan Mukhopadhyaya at the Saraswati Press, 20, Jhânâpukur Lane, Calcutta, 1287, B. S.

**B**ABU BHUBANESWAR MITRA has already acquired a good reputation as a Bengali writer, which the work under notice would be sure to enhance. It is a treatise on the history and composition of spirituous liquors and the effects of their use on the human constitution. The entire treatise, we are bound to say, is written with admirable care and mastery of the subject, and a large number of authorities have been consulted in its preparation. The author's treatment of his subject is throughout clear and methodical, and his style is easy and popular enough to be intelligible to people who possess no scientific knowledge of any kind. The most interesting portion of the work is that in which the origin of spirituous liquors and the subject of their use among Aryan nations in general and in ancient India in particular, are explained and discussed. Altogether, the work is an exceedingly valuable monograph prepared with great care, industry and literary skill, and with the very laudable object of proving to educated Bengali Babus the necessity of abstaining from intoxicating drinks.

*Sarat-Sashi; Samayik Upanyâs. Part I.* By Nisi Kumâr Ghosh. Printed and published by Ramânâth Ghosh at the New Arya Press, Calcutta 1288, B. S.

**T**HIS is the first part of a new novel written with the view of depicting modern Bengali life. Sarat, the hero of the story, is an educated Bengali Babu, bold, honest and straightforward, who makes speeches, writes articles in newspapers, declaims against oppression and tyranny, &c. He seems to be the author's ideal of what Bengalis should be. The story is made up of sensational incidents not very skilfully developed. The author has endeavoured to reproduce the style of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, but with no more success than the author of *Dui Bhagnî* noticed above. The following from *Sarat-Sashi* are perhaps worse than the parallel passages we have extracted from *Dui Bhagnî* :—

(a) বৈশাখ মাস, রাত্রি দ্বিতীয় প্রহর! ঝড়ের পর চন্দ্র দ্বিগুণতর জ্যোতিতে প্রকাশ পাইতেছে—সর্বত্র আলোকময় হইয়াছে—বিভাবরী যেন হাসিতেছে। সর্বত্র নিস্তব্ধ; কেবল মধ্যে মধ্যে গাচক উড়িতেছে—বেড়াইয়া বেড়াইতেছে,—নাচিতেছে, ডাকিতেছে, চন্দ্রের নিকট কি যেন বলিতেছে—দূরস্থ ভাগীরথীর পার পর্যন্ত প্রতিধ্বনিত হইতেছে।

(b) সেই গভীর রজনীতে, সেই বাগানের পার্শ্বে, সেই বালুকা-রাশির উপরে পঞ্চবিংশতি বর্ষোন্নত এ যুবক কে?

(c) যুবক বসিয়া যেন কি ভাবিতেছে ইতস্ততঃ দৃষ্টি করিতেছে কাহার জন্য যেন অপেক্ষা করিতেছে মধ্য মধ্য অক্ষুটস্থরে কি কি বলিতেছে।

(d) যুবক থাকিয়া থাকিয়া দাঁড়াইল; দাঁড়াইয়া দাঁড়াইয়া কি দেখিল; দেখিয়া দেখিয়া পুনরায় বসিল।

Altogether the literary execution of *Sarat-Sashi* is not so good as it might probably have been if the author had used his own natural style instead of emulating the style of another writer. Babu Nisi Kumār seems to be made up of parts, and we would therefore advise him to rely more largely upon his own resources. The work under notice gives sufficient indication of artistic power.









